POLLUTION INTERNATIONAL ... ARSHALL I. GOLDMAN

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LETTERS

black promise

North Hollywood, Calif.

DEAR SIRS: Howard Romaine projects in "Why a Black Man Should Run" [*The Nation,* Sept. 27] a novel and fecund idea: a black base, or fulcrum, for a viable American Populism. It has its historical precedents in the reviled Black Parliaments of the Reconstruction, when semiliterate former field hands offered legislation—including woman suffrage—considerably more progressive than did their opposite bodies in the North.

Of course a black man should run for President in 1972—if only to indicate Nixon's pallor! And there should be regional thrusts too, as Bond suggests. The combination of the two strategies could lead not only to greatly increased black registration and voting—a net gain—but to . . . more participatory democracy, cleansing of the Democratic convention procedural challenges, and possibly the defeat of Nixon by someone less indistinguishable from him than the ineffable Humphrey. . . . *John Bright*

actors' stakes

San Francisco, Calif.

DEAR SIRS: I can only say "right on!" to David Weinstein's article, "Actors' Equity: Do You Call That a Union?" [*The Nation,* Sept. 20].

As as ex-business representative for Equity, I went through the frustrations of hearing the union blasted for its lack of empathy toward the actor, and yet having to uphold it as a union "official."

After about a year of this, reality caught up with myth and I got out. Unfortunately, the prospects of changing this union are practically nil with the administration currently entrenched therein. Attempts to revolt have been sparse and abortive (witness the "Freeway Movement" led by Rudy Solari and others in Hollywood about four years ago). But the actor has *got* to help himself (and herself) because the stakes are the highest. *Ann Sebastian*

school prayer

Beltsville, Md.

DEAR SIRS: A discharge petition will force a vote soon in the U.S. House of Representatives on a proposed amendment to the U.S. Constitution which would allow "non-denominational prayer" in the public schools.

Such an amendment is objectionable for many reasons. It would be the first time the Bill of Rights was amended, and could lead to other changes in the Constitution which could destroy all American liberties. The proposed prayer amendment would open every school district, school, PTA, classroom, school board and state legislature to endless bitter controversies over the who, what, when, which, why and to whom of school prayer. It would open the door to the imposition of sectarian religious exercises on schoolchildren.

A prayer amendment is absolutely and totally unnecessary. The Supreme Court made clear in 1962 and 1963 that children may pray voluntarily in school now. What the Court ruled unconstitutional was government-sponsored or mandated prayer or religious observances. All Americans concerned with preserving religious freedom and church-state separation should write their Congressmen urging that this proposed amendment be defeated. *Edd Doerr*

correction

DEAR SIRS: In my article on the trial of the Black Panthers [*The Nation,* Oct. 4], there are three errors I'd like to correct. The killing at the Marin County Courthouse did not include a juror. Joan Bird was 19, not 17, when she was arrested. And Richard Moore's other name is Dharuba, not Iharuba. *Edwin Kennebeck*

EDITORIALS

Toying with Rhodesia

In one respect the United Nations' mandatory economic sanctions against white minority-ruled Southern Rhodesia are like school bussing. No one really *likes* them; each is a necessary evil, a means to an end. The difference, however, is that, at present rates of progress, American schoolchildren will be frolicking in integrated bliss for millennia before Rhodesia's 96 per cent African majority obtains political control. As Prime Minister Ian Smith told newsmen during the latest round of negotiations to produce a face-saving exit for white Britain, Rhodesia will never permit one man, one vote. "We disapprove of that sort of thing—at any time," he said.

This fall the ostensibly obligatory U.N. sanctions mark their fifth anniversary as a monument to hypocrisy. An Administration source claims that only Britain and Sweden besides the United States have unswervingly respected this paper wall. Another source even questions Britain's sincerity. Sanctions have bought time for Smith. In return for some economic inconvenience, the British fiction that Rhodesia is still a colony has protected Smith's regime from directly confronting its critics. The time that Smith has bought now seems to have worked in his favor. The Conservative government in London is even more accommodating than its Labour predecessor. Peking, which is likely to stir African hopes, has not yet been admitted to the U.N.

In Washington, the Senate voted 44 to 38 on October 6 to resume imports of Rhodesian chrome, principally from mines owned by Union Carbide and Foote Mineral, both of which lobbied strongly for the measure. A key factor in the vote was the unpaired absences of Presidential hopefuls Harris, Jackson, McGovern and Muskie. Unless the amendment is removed in conference, or the President vetoes the entire military procurement bill to which it was appended, the United States on January 1 will join South Africa and Portugal as the only nations publicly and voluntarily breaking sanctions. Any White House expressions of regret about the Senate vote would have a particularly hollow ring, since the Administration kept its lobbying against the measure on a *pro forma* basis and refused to issue any public statement before the Senate's final tally, despite a telegram from the black caucus.

Meanwhile, an Administration spokesman said sanctions are a "short-term measure to create pressures [on Rhodesia] for a settlement with the United Kingdom." Completely missing was the suggestion, once routine, that the settlement must be "satisfactory" or "acceptable" in terms of inducing social and political change in Rhodesia. If Smith refuses to give Britain even a fig leaf of a settlement, London can blame Washington for the failure and can then dismantle its own sanctions on the ground that it is useless to continue them without the United States.

Smith, and those who think like him here in Britain, need to be reminded that sanctions against Rhodesia will remain until the social goal is achieved. In 1966, the United States and Britain voted in the Security Coun-

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cil for the proposition that Rhodesia constitutes a "threat to the peace" under Chapter VII of the Charter, which provides for eventual collective force if necessary. Any attempt, even by the British who originally proposed the mandatory sanctions, to undo this work is certain to lose, if need be by Soviet veto.

So the United States is faced with a U.N. crisis which Peking will join Moscow in exploiting. Unless the President is prepared to flout the United Nations, he must, however reluctantly and tardily, jettison his "Southern strategy" in Rhodesia. He must move vigorously to block the chrome amendment while it is still on the Hill. Or failing that, he must find an administrative device to prevent Rhodesian chrome from entering the country.

The 1966 U.N. resolution called the Rhodesian situation a "rebellion," but did not define whether the rebellion was that of the white minority against the black majority or that of the white minority against Britain. However, Britain announced publicly months before Rhodesia declared independence in 1965 that it would not use force if Rhodesia did so. For the United States now to suggest that sanctions are a measure merely "to create pressures for a settlement with the United Kingdom" and not necessarily to gain majority African rule is farce of the cheapest sort. What threat is there to the peace when the supposed invader says it won't invade?

Therefore, when the sellout is complete, the United States should join with the U.N. majority, which will insist that, in calling upon the organization to undertake mandatory sanctions, and thus seriously engaging its reputation, Britain placed upon the Security Council substantial international responsibility for Rhodesia—an act which Mr. Heath cannot now unilaterally undo by the wave of an Orwellian wand. In addition, the U.N. should prosecute violators of the mandatory sanctions before The Hague tribunal. This would include any nation, Britain as well, that recognizes Rhodesia. In these actions the United Nations system clearly would be plowing new ground, but the mandatory sanctions against Rhodesia already are unique in U.N. annals. For the world organization to backpedal now would reduce it to the kind of laughingstock that sanctions made of the League.

Without exaggeration, it is fair to say that the future of the United Nations as an effective mechanism is at stake in the Rhodesian question. Outside the U.N. framework, the only thing frustrated Africans could do would be to fan the smoldering Sino-Soviet competition to muster the force necessary for a shooting war.

Since Mr. Nixon apparently has difficulty undersanding this line of thought, some of his prospective opponents might stick around Capitol Hill more and jog his thinking a bit.

A Wise Decision

Rep. Richard H. Poff declared last year: "I would rather be on the United States Supreme Court than be President." He will be neither. Had he been formally nominated by Mr. Nixon for one of the two Supreme Court vacancies, he *might* have made a good addition to the Court. He was not a judicial ogre, and the fact that colleagues like Emanuel Celler and Abner J. Mikva

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warmly endorsed him would seem to give him some claim to consideration. But his record made him impossible.

He could not wipe out what he had said and done, particularly in the civil rights field. He may have been contrite. In *The New York Times* (October 3), Ben A. Franklin quoted from an interview Mr. Poff gave to Wayne Woodlief, a Washington correspondent for Virginia newspapers. He said, "I can only say now that segregation is wrong today; it was wrong yesterday. Segregation was never right. But it is one of the most lamentable frailties of mankind that when one's wrong is most grievous, his self-justification is most passionate, perhaps in the pitiable hope that the fervor of his self-defense will somehow prove him right." Then he pleaded that he had always been afraid that the Democrats would defeat him by putting up some conservative who would run a segregationist campaign.

These disavowals came too late—not until last June, when Mr. Poff began to have realistic hopes of making the Supreme Court. When the President sent his name to the American Bar Association for evaluation, the tide of opposition was already rising so high that it was obviously wise for the nominee to retreat. He would have been put through a searing ordeal, and in the end would probably have been turned down. Even the ABA committee which was weighing his qualifications could not be relied on to give him its best rating. The passing grade—"Not opposed"—would really have been a form of opposition.

The puzzle is why Mr. Nixon decided to nominate Mr. Poff, and why Attorney General Mitchell went along with the choice. Mitchell and Nixon seem to have learned nothing from their Carswell and Haynsworth experiences. If the President wants a Southerner for "balance," replacing Black, there are several whom he could name and who would encounter no difficulty in the Senate. But if he insists on someone tailored exactly to his specifications, he is headed for further abrasive confrontations. If only, for once, he would swallow his prejudices and take a statesmanlike view of his job, he would not only do the country a service but might begin to be respected as a man who has been spiritually enlarged by the high office he holds.

Getting Together in Baltimore

Except for baseball scores, Baltimore is generally as bereft of good news as any large American city coping with poverty, racism, municipal bankruptcy and hostile suburbs. There still exists, however, a surprising reservoir of determination to meet the city's problems, and occasionally there are hints of a yearning to find at least a *modus vivendi* in relationships between the races. On a weekend in late September the determination and the yearning combined to erupt, not in a riot but in a riotous interracial good time—a Baltimore City Fair that attracted more than 600,000 people.

The fair's perpetrators are bewildered by their own success. In strictly objective terms the fair, with its neighborhood exhibits and its standard county-fair selection of amusements, shouldn't have been *that* much fun. What profound need did this urban carnival fulfill to attract such a flood of humanity, such a wholesome black-and-white love-in?

This was the second annual Baltimore City Fair, differing from the 1970 version only in that it was bigger and attracted more than twice as many admissions. Some skeptics regarded the first fair as a novel attraction that would never work a second time. They were wrong, as it turns out, and the fair has become an instant tradition, but they were also afraid—and not without some justification.

Baltimore's city population is 905,759, 47 per cent black. In the pattern of other Northeastern cities, the downtown section is almost surrounded by black neighborhoods, most of them slums or only slightly better. Wealthier Negroes have found homes in prestigious old city neighborhoods, and a few have crossed the city line, but low-income blacks have been totally walled off from the suburbs.

For fifty-eight years a revered Baltimore tradition has been the annual Flower Mart, a one-day affair conducted downtown in stately old Mount Vernon Place by the well-born ladies of the Women's Civic League. In May of 1970 the Flower Mart was broken up by clashes between police and black youths who swarmed in from the perimeter of the Mount Vernon Place district.

The first Baltimore City Fair was planned in optimistic defiance of the Flower Mart debacle. The inspiration apparently came from the city's Department of Housing and Community Development. Baltimore has been a city of strong neighborhood loyalties, but the pride that characterized the once white communities has been eroded by the realities of racism and the slums. At the same time, the remaining white neighborhoods feel threatened by their approaching minority status and resentful of a city government that is pouring most of its meager resources into assuaging the miseries of the ghetto. The fair was conceived as a civic uplift for woebegone neighborhoods of all colors.

The fair planners (a consortium of private and public citizens) had one architectural asset. Over the past ten years the central core of Baltimore has been razed and rebuilt as Charles Center, a resplendent cluster of office buildings, hotels, theatres and, most important, three spacious plazas. Charles Center has proved to be an aesthetic triumph and a daytime success, but a nighttime flop. After sundown, a venturesome pedestrian feels like a sentry walking his post.

The fair was a natural event for Charles Center. The concept was simple. Each city neighborhood was invited to set up a booth to show off its products, its food, its music or, in fact, anything it chose to display. In 1970 twenty-four neighborhood booths were set up in a large tent apart from the other attractions and a $1 admission to the tent was charged to defray the cost of the fair. The result was a community celebration in which thousands of neighborhood residents, both black and white, had a direct stake.

That first fair attracted some 300,000 people and, for three days in September, Charles Center was alive, day and night. Then, while the 1971 fair was being planned,

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there was an ominous setback. Noting the success of the Baltimore City Fair, the Women's Civic League moved its Flower Mart to Charles Center. As in 1970, it was driven from its stand by young blacks. This second melee plagued the staff of the 1971 fair, who had to convince neighborhoods, concessionaires and business sponsors that there was a vast difference between the Flower Mart, suburban, white and irrelevant to the large urban groups, and a fair that directly involved almost every grass-roots neighborhood in Baltimore.

Baltimore took a chance. The 1971 fair opened on a sunny Friday afternoon with twice as many neighborhood booths as participated the year before, rock groups on three outdoor stages, harbor excursions, five beer gardens, and a concert by the full Baltimore Symphony Orchestra (driven into the lobby of a friendly bank when it started to rain).

There were no riots, no disturbances, and scarcely a policeman's club raised in anger except at a few purse snatchers. The greatest single attraction was jazz singer Ethel Ennis, whose Saturday night concert attracted some 25,000 people. A warm and lovely native of Baltimore's black community, Miss Ennis (married to a white newsman) personified the biracial fair. Emotionally moved after her concert, Miss Ennis summed up the spirit of the occasion. "You had the feeling," she said, "that the black people and the white people of Baltimore were saying to each other, 'I want to get along with you.' "

Freedom of the Press

The press is free only when the government keeps its hands off the content of what is broadcast or published, and when publications and radio/TV stations have reasonable economic security. These are the prime conditions. The secondary ones include ability to get the news in the face of governmental lying, euphemistically termed the "credibility gap." Press security can also be undermined by prolonged, reiterated attack by governmental potentates like that alliterative mouthpiece, Vice President Agnew. His speeches, always delivered before friendly, loudly applauding audiences and, for obvious reasons, always given time on the air, are an insidious threat to all but the most reactionary media. The halfway enlightened are on the spot: if they counterattack vigorously, it can be made to appear that they resent constructive criticism; worse, their actual faults can be magnified for political advantage. The media are at a further disadvantage because over the years they have so often yelled "freedom of the press" when there was no real danger.

The economic lesions of the printed media, in particular magazines, are highlighted by the red ink at *Harper's* and the demise of *Look*. Apparently the richest country in the world, and one of the most literate, can support two old, distinguished magazines like *Harper's* and *Atlantic* only with difficulty, if at all. The folding of *Look* is even more ominous, in that its circulation was not of the order of a few hundred thousand, but had numbered no less than 7.7 million and was still 6.5 million when management cut it in the hope of staying afloat. Gardner Cowles nearly broke his back financially in the effort to keep it alive, but too much advertising had gone elsewhere, mostly to television.

Life survives, but from any respectable journalistic viewpoint *Look* had it all over *Life*, and the improvement in the latter over the years has been largely due to the influence of the former. In the early days of *Life*, sex, "grue," and miscellaneous sensationalism were carefully blended for each issue. *Look* was never that kind of magazine. If it was not a paragon without fear and without reproach, it did print much first-rate material and, at the end, was still the best of the picture magazines.

Look, it should be noted, was done in largely by the government and its creature, the postal system. *Look*'s postal bill was $4 million and was estimated to rise to $10 million in the next five years. Mr. Cowles correctly termed this "unconscionably high and a complete reversal of U.S. postal policy since the days of Benjamin Franklin, who felt that the cost of transporting magazines and newspapers should always be kept low." Now the advantage is with the purveyers of junk mail, which so jams mailboxes that the receiver who is on many mailing lists must search for his own correspondence amid the third-class garbage.

In the face of all this economic and political adversity, about the only bright spot is Sen. Sam Ervin's crusade on behalf of the communications media and against governmental oppression. Ervin is to the Senate what Justice Black was on the Supreme Court. A political conservative, he believes in the Bill of Rights as applied to the electronic and printed press, as well as to individual citizens. "Some government officials," he says, "appear to believe that the purpose of the press is to present the government's policies and programs to the public in the best possible light. They appear to have lost sight of the central purpose of a free press in a free society." He is trying to shield the press against the Justice Department, which persists in trying to force reporters to reveal confidential sources—a sure way of depriving them of any sources at all. Carried far enough, this kind of bureaucratic tyranny would leave the government as the sole source of political information. In that extremity, what would be the difference between the controlled press of the totalitarian countries (and let's not cite only the iron curtain nations but also our client state, South Vietnam) and the "free" American press?

The Young in Heart

Wayne Morse, we are immensely pleased to note, will be a candidate for election to the Senate in 1972. "My doctor tells me I have the heart of a 40-year-old man," he says. At 71 (on October 20), he is light years younger in spirit and outlook than most of his former colleagues in the Senate. By any standard, and judged on both domestic and foreign issues, Morse was one of the most valuable members of the Senate in the years from 1944, when he was first elected, to 1968, when he was defeated by Senator Packwood. His stand on Vietnam alone would entitle him to the highest rank, along with that other young-at-heart statesman, Ernest Gruening. When virtually all of his colleagues were swallowing hook, line and sinker the tall tale that President Johnson was propa-

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gating about the Gulf of Tonkin incident, Morse remained unconvinced and cogently skeptical.

A notably independent politician, Morse supported Sen. Mark Hatfield in 1966 over his fellow Democrat (he had become a Democrat in 1955) Robert Duncan. If Senator Hatfield seeks and wins the Republican, and Morse the Democratic nomination, Oregon voters will have a surfeit of riches. Both are worthy of the office but our preference, out of old loyalty and ongoing admiration and respect, would be for Wayne Morse. And should Hatfield decide not to seek re-election [see "Oregon: Gunning for Hatfield" by Ralph Friedman, *The Nation,* June 21], then Morse's candidacy will become the more important.

The Senate always stands in need of precisely the qualities that he exemplifies. He is fiercely independent, possesses a brilliant legal mind, is an expert in many fields of legislation (education, labor, foreign policy, social welfare) and has never been reluctant to puncture those big fat specious propositions that, in the name of some tribal sentiment, too often go unchallenged. Morse was a "tiger in the Senate," and now more than ever the Senate could make good use of his sharp, critical intelligence. His defeat in 1968 was shameful in the sense that he failed to win the backing of elements of the electorate on whose continued support he had every reason to rely. But there is good reason to believe that, by now, these same elements have had occasion to regret the stand they took, largely because they did not approve of Morse's opposition to the war in Vietnam.

POLLUTION INTERNATIONAL

HAS THE ENVIRONMENT A FUTURE?

MARSHALL I. GOLDMAN

Mr. Goldman, professor of economics at Wellesley College and associate of the Russian Research Center, Harvard, is the author and editor of Controlling Pollution: Economics of a Cleaner America *(Prentice-Hall), and of the as yet unpublished* Environmental Disruption in the USSR *(MIT Press).*

From June to October of this year, at least seventeen international conferences have been called to discuss one or another aspect of pollution. These sessions provide a foretaste of what promises to be the most dramatic of all scientific-political conferences—the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, scheduled for next June 5-16 in Stockholm.

Having attended three such warm-up conferences in the last fifteen months, I sense both hope and hazard in the struggle to come to terms with our environment. This duality was particularly apparent last summer at the eight-day International Conference on the Environmental Future, sponsored and arranged by the government of Finland, the Finnish National Commission for UNESCO and the Jyvaskyla Arts Festival—with an able assist from the editor of the journal, *Biological Conservation.*

At first, Jyvaskyla, a city remote and apparently untouched by environmental disruption, seemed a strange gathering place for several dozen Jeremiahs, the bulk of whom were convinced that the death of the planet is near, though each has his own pet theory as to how it will occur and why. However, Jyvaskyla turned out to be a remarkably apt selection: first, because it served to recall how pleasant life can be in a relatively unsullied environment; and, second, because it was discovered that even the lovely lake at the foot of idyllic Jyvaskyla was after all polluted with mercury and other wastes from nearby paper plants.

For Americans, who are used to believing that their problems are always the biggest in the world, it was comforting, if somewhat frightening, to encounter the growing ranks of those from other countries who think that their environmental disruption may be just as serious. For those of us who take pride in leadership, there will probably be some compensation in the fact that the United States is still about five years ahead both in the dimensions of its problem and in the public awareness of what is happening. Nevertheless, more and more scientists, economists and citizens all over the world are being aroused by the dangers of pollution.

This almost global anxiety was reflected at the conference in Finland, and it was notable that, when confronted with the specter of environmental disruption, the participants from most of the developed countries were willing to forget old political slogans and conditioned responses. Environmental disruption is not just the result of capitalist greed; Socialist greed has proved to be just as hard on the environment. Although representatives from the Socialist countries were seen caucusing once or twice, there was almost no exchange of polemics between the representatives of the East and West as to which form of political system had worked more harm on the earth. Moreover, there was mutual concern that sewage and oil discharge from Estonia affects the fate of the Baltic Sea as much as does sewage and oil discharge from Sweden. Nor did the Scandinavians care whether the polluted air over their countries originated in East or West Germany; the important thing was that the air be cleaned up.

The only people at the conference interested in stirring up the old debate were a few Finnish student radicals who periodically took the floor to level a blast at the United States in general and its international corporations in particular. For these radicals, the United States and its corporations were the key to all the world's pollution. Whenever such charges were made, the repre-

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sentatives from the Soviet Union, Romania, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and even East Germany sat by in embarrassment, waiting until they could resume discussion of the difficulties in their own countries. Even the Chinese Academy of Science in the People's Republic of China sent a telegram from Peking expressing its regret that no Chinese scientists were able to accept the invitation to attend the conference, but indicating their concern about the problem and suggesting a willingness to participate in the future.

If one wanted to, one could also find muted overtones of the cold war when the East Germans rose to speak. Jyvaskyla was one of the first conferences to which the East Germans had been invited. Only a few months before, in Prague, they had turned up at what was supposed to be a pollution conference called by the Economic Commission for Europe of the United Nations. When the Russians insisted that the East Germans remain, even though they were not members of the U.N., the issue was resolved with a compromise whereby the supposedly more prestigious designation of "conference" was deleted and the proceedings were classified as a "symposium." In the new openness and welcome at Jyvaskyla, the two East German representatives were not quite sure how to behave. Unlike everyone else, they seemed unable to refrain from attaching political footnotes and lamentations to some of their public statements. Thus the need to monitor and control pollution was important, they agreed; but how, they kept asking, could it be met unless *all* the countries of Europe were included in any monitoring and control program? A good question, and no one disputed the contention, although one such proposal did exclude East Germany as well as Israel, while including all the other adjacent countries.

Strangely enough, the most radical and iconoclastic voices raised on behalf of the environment at the conference came from the Americans. Most of the other participants were incredulous that a randomly selected group of Americans could always agree with one another and be so uniformly distrustful of governmental assertions that all is well with the environment. Yet because of the disquiet engendered by the war in Vietnam, the distrust evoked by the Pentagon Papers and the feeling of having been misled by governmental authorities on the merits of the SST, the Americans who spoke were openly skeptical, if not distrustful, of almost any official claim regarding the innocuousness for the environment of some new invention or project. That David Brower of the Friends of the Earth should respond that way was not too surprising, but that such Establishment types as Stewart Udall, former Secretary of the Interior, or the scholarly Raymond Fosberg of the Smithsonian Institution should share his views puzzled otherwise sophisticated Europeans.

On the other hand, the Americans often found it hard to understand or accept the passivity of other participants toward the activities of their own governments or industries. We asked, for example, why virtually no representative of the United Kingdom, France or the USSR questioned the wisdom of their countries' continued determination to build their SSTs. Didn't they realize that if they pursued their efforts, they might resurrect the SST in the United States? Some of our scientists asserted that the daily flight of commercial SSTs (not to mention military SSTs, which are already flying) could set in motion a process which could destroy much of the ozone belt shielding the earth from the full intensity of the sun's ultraviolet rays; they warned that too many potential hazards were connected with the SST to permit its further development anywhere. Yet the English, French and Russians were filled with national pride at their technological prowess, or at best were unworried by it. In any case, the silence about the SST, even the support for it, bewildered the Americans.

Almost as great a gap separated the Americans and particularly the British over the relationship between conservationists and industry. Most of the British scientists failed to understand the ferocity of some of the Americans toward industry, and the delight that some American conservation groups take in filing lawsuits and bringing industry (and government) into court. To the British this seemed not only undignified but nonproductive. In response to a particularly slashing attack by Charles Wurster of State University of New York at Stony Brook on the effects of DDT, several Englishmen and a Canadian questioned whether the menace was as serious as the speaker indicated, and whether excesses in the use of pesticides and other chemicals could not be curbed by simply approaching industry and discussing the matter intelligently. This approach, they claimed, had produced a good measure of success in the United Kingdom, where the level of such chemicals in animal and fish life had fallen sharply in recent years. It was later pointed out that we in the United States of course use reason and dialogue, quite effectively at times; but that it does no harm to keep the legal stick ready for use.

Except for the issue of the SST, however, the infighting between the developed countries was of secondary importance to the main battle lines that evolved at the conference, and which promise to be even more disruptive next year at Stockholm. The problem is much less a conflict between capitalism and socialism, or between the United States and the United Kingdom, than it is the hostility of the developing countries toward the whole notion of environmental control and, strangely enough, the resistance of the United Nations agencies to the changes environmental control would seem to make necessary.

The attitude of the developing countries is based partly on the fear that environmental control is also a device to impede industrialization and economic growth among the poorer countries of the Southern Hemisphere. They see laws requiring the installation of emission controls as a way to impose higher production costs on infant industries, which then will not be able to compete with more established producers in the developed countries.

The two opposing positions clashed most sharply over the issue of DDT. In response to warnings about the pending extinction of American bald eagles and peregrine falcons and the likelihood that DDT has a carcinogenic effect on human beings, spokesmen for the developing countries warned that banning the production of DDT —the chemical choice for combating malaria—was viewed

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as genocide in their countries. Nor did it quiet the debate to point out that the curbing of malaria may be good for the individual, but it has also caused the population explosion in much of the world. This only invited charges of racism and raised perplexing moral issues which this conference was not equipped to solve.

The fact remains, however, that just as environmental disruption within the boundaries of one European country often spreads over into another, so it crosses the boundaries of the developing countries. The long life of DDT and its failure to dissolve readily means that its widespread application in India builds up in the food chain and may have a deleterious effect even on those who have banned DDT within their own borders. Because the natives thought it wasteful, the oil companies snuffed out the flame which used to burn off the methane gas wastes at oil installations throughout the Middle East. As a result, the methane gas level in the earth's atmosphere has increased by something like 30 per cent. Massive projects which seek to restructure and improve on nature have sometimes set off reverberating effects that wipe out the anticipated benefits. The Aswan Dam has not only produced a higher incidence of such diseases as bilharzia and schistosomiasis but has also disrupted irrigation patterns, raised the saline level of the soil, and adversely affected the river bed downstream of the dam as well as the fishing in the Mediterranean. There is even concern that the new hybrid seeds of the Green Revolution may expose the world to a massive ecological catastrophe if new diseases should suddenly strike the few selected seed strains now being used over vast portions of the earth. In effect, we have put all our seeds in one basket.

As intractable as these opposing approaches were, there were areas of mutual concern and action. One of the most intriguing was suggested in a paper by Reid Bryson, a meteorologist from the University of Wisconsin. After careful study, Bryson found that shortsighted agricultural practices in developing countries like India had generated massive dust clouds. These clouds negatively affected the weather, so that there was less rainfall, and that in turn affected agriculture. Indeed, measures of particulate matter over some desert regions of India were four times higher than those recorded over Chicago. In other words, by reducing air pollution, India stands to *gain* from increased agricultural production. Similar attempts were made to show that steps to assure clean air and water are most easily and cheaply put into effect at an early stage of industrialization. Nevertheless, no matter how rational it may be from the long-run point of view, it is hard in the short run for a poor country to invest in electrostatic precipitators rather than in electric power generators.

Increasingly, however, the richer countries are imposing their environmental codes on others, whether the latter like it or not. Even though the Japanese say it is still safe to eat, we banned their swordfish. More and more buyers support the ban on the use of skins from exotic and rare animals that are hunted in developing countries. Foreign auto manufacturers must meet U.S. exhaust standards, even if they do not observe them at home. Many foreign manufacturers see this as a device to curb

Dunnett (Canada)

foreign auto sales. The resistance thrown up by U.S. industry to such controls suggests that protection from competition was not the initial motivation, but once such laws are on the books, they undoubtedly tend to curb imports. That, at least, is the interpretation put on Volvo's decision to support the imposition of American exhaust standards in Sweden, thus keeping some auto imports out of their country as well. In time, other laws requiring the observance of environmental standards, regardless of where production takes place, are likely to affect foreign trade.

Somewhat more perverse is the attitude of certain United Nations organizations toward environmental control. Set up to advance the welfare of mankind, all too often one U.N. agency or another seems to end up supporting only the interests of its particular group. Whatever the problem is, each U.N. organization has either been doing something to correct it for at least a decade, or it did not have any responsibility for the problem in the first place. The Food and Agriculture Organization asserted that it was using pesticides, hybrids and irrigation only in moderation; the Economic Commission for Europe showed how it was already providing for the coordination of pollution control among many countries; and the World Meteorological Organization insisted that it was already keeping track of atmospheric pollution, and argued that there was no need to worry about the atmospheric effects of the SST, even though it was not yet quite sure what those effects might be. At one point, the conditioned responses became so annoying that some of

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us stood up and predicted disaster. We pointed out that the same shirking of responsibility takes place in the United States, where the federal government blames industry for pollution, industry blames the states, the states blame the cities, and the cities blame the federal government for lack of effective environmental control. In fact, each party has failed to do its share—and that includes the individual consumer and taxpayer who resists the higher prices and taxes which come with greater pollution control. In the same way, all countries are responsible to some degree for what has happened, and so are all U.N. groups. We must all become less defensive and parochial.

Although it seemed an impossibility, the conference ended on a positive note. Despite the verbiage, the adroit dodging and the blandness of what was first offered as a final statement, the participants suddenly coalesced and strengthened their resolve with a forceful conclusion at the last minute. A weak statement on the SST was rejected in favor of a strong declaration which urged the cessation of production, not only of civilian supersonic planes but also of military planes—at least until it could be shown that such planes would not have a deleterious effect on the environment. This statement was remarkable in two respects. First, the Russian delegation did not oppose it. In fact, the senior Russian acknowledged to some of us his concern that there might be something to the theory about the elimination of the ozone layer. And like the rest of us, as long as there was a reasonable doubt, he felt that the SST should be challenged. When told of this, journalists for *The Times* of London and *The Observer* obtained similar statements of doubt from the Russian participants. Such acknowledgments deserve wider circulation.

Second, the principle was accepted that the manufacturer (state and private) bears the burden of proof to show there will be no damage from his activities. Traditionally the burden has fallen on the public to show how it will be hurt.

The conference also adopted a statement that there was urgent need for population control in both developing and developed countries. Population growth in, for example, the United States, may be slow, relative to that in many developing countries, but each American has an impact on the earth's ecology approximately fifty times greater than that of a Chinese. The conference also urged that an effort be made to include more of the true social costs of pollution in the price of what is produced. Finally, it was suggested that wherever possible substitutes be found for the more toxic insecticides such as DDT. In any case, such materials should be used more selectively. A call was also made to prohibit the use of defoliants. While action on these resolutions is not likely to be taken overnight, the findings of the conference did represent a big step forward for principle over pettiness.

Irksome and pretentious as international conferences can be, they do have positive value, especially when they are a novelty in the host country. The Finnish news media carried long stories about every detail of the Jyvaskyla meetings, and the TV news was filled for a whole week with environmental disruption and how concerned foreign experts were about local conditions. In March 1970, such a conference in Tokyo set off a nationwide uproar over the problem throughout Japan; since then, pollution has become one of the leading domestic issues in the country. Something similar seems to have happened in Finland. □

CHINESE CITIES, CHINESE HAMLETS

'BECKONING A NEW GENERATION'

ROLAND BERGER

Mr. Berger has just returned from his nineteenth visit to China. In the early days of the United Nations, he was a senior official at the Secretariat, concerned primarily with technical assistance to developing countries. After 1952, he became a trade consultant, and in that capacity has made almost annual visits to China. He made eight trips there during the period of the Cultural Revolution, and in the spring of 1953 spent three months in the country, preparing a special study of the Great Leap Forward.

The flood of foreign visitors pouring in and out of China today is a sardonic reminder that less than two years ago the commentators were telling the world that "China is isolated." Anything less like isolation than the Peking scene of recent months could hardly be imagined. An Australian friendship delegation had just departed as a twenty-two-man trade group from the Philippine Chamber of Commerce came up from Kwangchow (Canton), where 1,500 Japanese had attended the Spring Commodities Fair. The Philippines were followed by a similar mission from Malaysia. Princess Fatemah Pahlavi of Iran and Leila Hoveyda, wife of the Prime Minister, were touring in south China; in addition, a delegation from the Palestine Liberation Front was to be seen moving about in Peking.

Corridors of the Peking Hotel, which one week were ringing with the gay laughter of diminutive but obviously tough "model" soldiers from Laos, were the next echoing to the boisterous loquacity of seventy-six silk-suited Italian businessmen, led by their Minister of Foreign Trade. Academicians from France, technicians from Albania, two American professors up from Hanoi, various specialist delegations from Vietnam followed one after the other. A little later, a large government *cum* party delegation arrived from Romania; then came a powerful Canadian economic mission, with the Minister of Foreign Trade at its head, and this was followed by a delegation from Australia, led by the head of the Opposition Party. And later still—Kissinger.

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Had Peking become the Mecca of the 1970s? What brought them all here? It seemed that, in one way or another and from their many differing points of view, all these groups and individuals felt that in this country of 750 million people and with one of the oldest of civilizations, something essentially new, indeed unprecedented, was arising. Old notions had been under scrutiny, new ideas were being put into practice, fresh concepts of social relationships were being tried, radical changes taking place in education, factory management, in the relations between town and country—all adding up to a totally new quality of life for the Chinese, who less than twenty-five years ago had been living in degradation and squalor —impoverished, illiterate, ridden with superstition and torn asunder by warlordism and civil strife. In the words, recently, of an English commentator, China is "beckoning a new generation."

Most of the visitors returned to Peking from their travels in different parts of the country with descriptions of booming industry and flourishing agriculture which I was able to confirm from my own recents visits to factories and communes in four provinces: Kwangtung, Hopei, Hunan and Honan, some of them repeats of visits made on different occasions since 1953.

The figures of national output announced by Chou En-lai last autumn had already revealed a fast pace of economic growth. More recently, the Chinese Premier remarked to American visitors that these production statistics, given earlier to Edgar Snow, if anything understated the position. Certainly the reports of agricultural and industrial production which have come through from thirteen of the twenty-six provinces in the past few months suggest a definite leap in the Chinese economy during 1970. Hupeh, for example, in Central China, recorded a 50 per cent increase in industrial production and a grain harvest up 20 per cent from 1969. This province of 32 million includes Wuhan with its large iron and steel complex, heavy machine tool factories, a shipyard on the Yangtse and chemical, cement and textile plants. An increase on this scale from an already developed industrial base is no small achievement. Another province, Honan (population 50 million), claims to have raised industrial output 84 per cent from 1965 to 1970. Grain production was said to have risen 10 per cent from 1969 to 1970. If that is so, it bespeaks a very healthy situation in the basic food sector, for Honan is one of China's biggest wheat producers.

A new attitude of the workers to production rather than a massive program to build new *big* factories is one cause of these dramatic increases. It may seem paradoxical in the West, but the acceleration of productivity follows a nationwide attack on material inducements and the elimination during the Cultural Revolution of piece rates and bonus systems. The motivation in Chinese industry today is largely social ("Serve the People") and political ("Produce for the revolution and for international commitments"). This orientation has engendered a dynamic in the factories which not only is resulting in higher per-man output but has also induced a wave of technical innovations to get more out of existing machines by adaptations and improvements that are discussed by three-in-one combinations of workers, technicians and officials and then put into effect on the spot and without bureaucratic interference.

But perhaps the most important single factor accounting for this explosive rate of growth is the countrywide effort to develop medium and small industries, usually from scratch and based on local resources, material and human. To take Hupeh again as an example, the province in 1970 opened 2,000 small local factories to manufacture, among other things, agricultural implements, tractors, diesel engines and small hydroelectric equipment. Twenty-two local chemical fertilizer factories were commissioned, and during the year construction started on a further thirty-three. In 1956 the province had only three such plants.

To study these developments at first hand I spent five days of my recent visit in the Tunghua County of Hopei Province, 250 kilometers from Peking. This county of 485,000 population (it is one of 2,000 in the whole of China) has responded to the call for "self-reliance" in the building of local industry in what was previously a totally agricultural area. Since the spring of 1969, thirty-one medium and small factories have started up; they use raw materials available locally and call upon underemployed and seasonally available labor, as well as bringing more housewives into industrial production. The progressive mechanization of commune farming should insure a steady supply of labor as the number of these factories increases.

In Tunghua an iron and steel plant is producing 3,000 tons of iron and 1,700 tons of steel annually from locally mined ore. The county operates its own coal mine; a liquid ammonia plant for fertilizer production; a miscellaneous engineering factory (207 workers) that makes compressors, electric motors and bearings; a cement works; a repair shop for farm machinery which previously had to be sent to the district center of Tangshan; a small metal factory (eighty-four workers) for wire drawing and straightening and the production of nails; a ceramic plant producing pipes for irrigation and insulators. Light industrial enterprises include a cotton mill, a paper factory (600 tons a year), a tire reconditioning shop, factories producing knitwear, medicines for animal and human use, mostly from locally collected herbs, and fruit bottling.

The peasants, who can call for geological advice when they need it, have combed the county—one-third mountainous—and located 550 points at which minerals of various kinds can be extracted, including small but workable deposits of chrome and gold. Most of these materials will be processed by the local industry.

These local factories are practical examples of the self-reliance that has always been a tenet of Mao Tse-tung's political and economic policy, its importance being underscored by the withdrawal of the Soviet technicians and the cancellation of contracted deliveries in July 1960. The value of these local industries in limiting burdens on the infrastructure, particularly in reducing transport costs and absorbing any underemployed labor, will be obvious. The Chinese see them, moreover, as serving a social as well as economic purpose, in that they help to lower the

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barriers between industry and agriculture, while developing local skills and stimulating workers unaccustomed to industrial processes to find simple technological solutions. Perhaps most important, in explaining the rapid growth rates, is the speed of commissioning and the quick return on investment made possible by the relative simplicity of construction and of the equipment utilized. Frequently, as I saw in Tunghua, machines disposed of as obsolete by the big factories are reconditioned and adapted by the local workers.

An indication of the significance of these local efforts for the total economy can be gauged by statistics of cement and fertilizer production: in 1970 local industries accounted for 40 and 43 per cent of national output.

Before this latest leap China had come through the shortages of the "difficult years" (1959-61) without inflation, and had by 1965 settled all outstanding internal and external debts. It had chalked up nine successive good harvests. The result has been a steady improvement in the food situation, with a national grain reserve, according to Chou En-lai, of 40 million tons and with most commune brigades and teams as well as many individual households having significant reserves.

To illustrate with a grass-roots example from my recent visit. Shahshiyu in Tunghua County, whose accomplishments at industrialization I have described, is a barren, rocky hillside, its rainfall concentrated in a few weeks of the year. Until the late 1940s it was too insignificant even to have a name. In June, I saw how the lower slopes there had been transformed by the sheer task of tearing out the rocks and fashioning them into walls for terracing, then filling in with earth brought up in baskets on shoulder poles from the valley 5 kilometers away. It became a point of honor that no brigade member would return to the village without some earth—even the children brought a pocketful. Apple, date and walnut trees, interplanted with wheat and millet, are now growing on this reclaimed land. The result is that the commune brigade has a reserve of 37 tons of grain, with another 15 tons held as reserves by the 130 individual families. At the same time, the higher and more intractable land has been planted with pines and cypresses to stem erosion and eventually to be used as timber.

"In no small measure," said Dean Acheson in August 1949, "the predicament in which the National [Chiang Kai-shek] Government finds itself today is due to its failure to provide China with enough to eat." He added that "a large part of the Chinese Communists' propaganda consists of promises that they will solve the land problem." Nixon, when he visits China, will see for himself that these were no paper promises. The progress is not only quantitative; the quality and variety of foodstuffs has also enormously improved. As a result of the creation from 1958 onward, also by local effort, of fruit and vegetable communes around all cities of any size, the diets of the townspeople have changed out of all recognition.

A wide range of good quality, low-priced consumer goods is on sale in the department stores of all cities, but also in well-stocked village shops managed by the commune brigades. During my last trip I saw in many cities what, to me, was a new development—department stores that offered only consumer goods manufactured within the province, in addition to the stores that sell nationally distributed goods.

Prices of food and consumer durables are stable, tending, if anything, downward. In season, fruits and vegetables supplied direct from communes on the cities' outskirts are sold at giveaway prices. About eighteen months ago, the prices of the more commonly used drugs were slashed, in some cases by as much as 30 per cent; in recent months internal air fares have come down 25 per cent.

The health organizations, while still recording important breakthroughs in the more sophisticated techniques of surgery, are now focusing attention on improved services for the countryside. Whereas prior to the Cultural Revolution attempts to integrate traditional Chinese medicine (acupuncture, herbalism, etc.) with Western methods were more formal than actual in medical training, today a practical and living integration is arising out of the growth of cooperative medical services organized by the communes at the grass roots. These health cooperatives embrace the work of peasant "barefoot doctors" who, after elementary training, can deal with simple ailments, take responsibility for education in family planning and social hygiene and lead the campaign against diseases such as schistosomiasis, where local sanitation and the eradication of pests are critical. These peasant doctors provide a valuable source of recruits for the new type of medical schools that emphasize "serving the people," and particularly the 80 per cent of the people who live in the rural areas. Foreign diplomats based in Peking who toured China this spring returned impressed by a chest surgery operation using acupuncture as anaesthetic, the patient conscious and chatting with the surgeon throughout.

On the international front China has every reason to be satisfied with the progress of its diplomatic relations in the past eighteen months. In the course of the Cultural Revolution it concentrated on certain basic and vital questions of domestic policies. Ambassadors were recalled to participate in the rethinking and reorientation process. During this time, foreign policy was doing little more than "ticking over," and because of the fluid internal situation there were moments when elements hostile to Mao Tse-tung and the principles on which China's foreign relations were founded were able to spring diversions of one kind or another. Chinese friends explained to me that, while the burning down of foreign diplomatic missions and similar behavior may have had some appeal to adventurist elements, they have no place in a truly revolutionary policy and could only give comfort to China's enemies. Such excursions into ultra-leftism were temporary and accidental. They did not imply any departure or deviation from the basic foreign policy embodied in the five principles enunciated by Mao Tse-tung on June 15, 1949:

> We are willing to discuss with any foreign government the establishment of diplomatic relations on the basis of the principles of equality, mutual benefit and mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty,

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provided it is willing to sever relations with the Chinese reactionaries, stops conspiring with them or helping them, and adopts an attitude of genuine, and not hypocritical, friendship toward People's China. The Chinese people wish to have friendly cooperation with the people of all countries and to resume and expand international trade in order to develop production and promote economic prosperity.

These principles have governed and, it seems, will continue to govern China's relations with other states, be they capitalist, Socialist or newly liberated and independent. Two other forms complete the total matrix of China's international relations—party to party and people to people. These three, as the Chinese see them, are both distinct as well as interacting and interpenetrating. A high point in Chinese subtlety and finesse is manifested in maintaining a correct balance among all three.

The invitation to the American table-tennis team was a clear case of people-to-people's relationships reacting on state relations. Contact between the American and Chinese people, said a Peking friend, had been interrupted in recent years. The U.S. administration imposed passport regulations forbidding its citizens to visit China. This has now changed, he said, but so has the international situation. In particular, the American people's dissatisfaction with its government's war policy and its hostile stance toward China have become more manifest. Distortions and misrepresentations by the mass media and by official propaganda have failed to deflect the people's wish to have friendlier relations with China. "After all," said my friend, "the people decide everything." At the same time, the international prestige of the United States has seriously declined, its military excursions seen to be both immoral and ineffectual, and its economic situation, to say the least, is precarious.

Some visitors to China in recent years have interpreted the children's war games—taking potshots at effigies of Johnson and Nixon—as evidence of an anti-American attitude, but the Chinese always insisted that they, including the youngsters, distinguished between the American people and the leaders of U.S. imperialism responsible for the war in Vietnam and other horrors. The reception given to the American table-tennis team by the ordinary Chinese people suggests that the Chinese explanation was nearer the mark.

Following the announcement of Nixon's visit to Peking, some European and American commentators have suggested that China is now entering the ranks of the superpowers. From talks at many different levels and in many different parts of the country and judging from official pronouncements, I would consider this a total misreading of the situation. China is without doubt a great and proud nation, but there is nothing in recent developments to suggest that it has gone back on earlier declarations that "at no time will China ever behave like a superpower, neither today nor in the future." Chou En-lai, as late as last July 2, reaffirmed this policy: "While we develop ourselves we will absolutely not become a superpower. I say this openly to all of you and to the correspondents, as well. We will never be a superpower."

"We should draw a lesson from the Soviet Union," I was told, "which has confused state and party relations, sacrificing the latter for the sake of the former. We will never sacrifice principle for expediency. China is part of the world revolution and must support it, otherwise it is not a Socialist country."

Certainly in dispensing aid China seems to have scrupulously avoided the superpower role. Again, to quote my Chinese friend: "Any assistance which China gives is based on the principle of equality, independence and self-reliance and is not intended to control or interfere in the affairs of other countries. When the Vietnamese thank us for the aid we have given, we say that it is we who thank them for the sacrifices they have made and for their contribution in resisting imperialism."

When I remarked to another Chinese friend, one responsible for an important sector of international relations, that in the factories, communes and schools I had found a marked emphasis by ordinary workers, peasants and students on China's international responsibilities, he replied that "the people of the world must support one another." He went on: "Mao Tse-tung teaches us to oppose great-nation chauvinism. We are a big country rich in natural resources. As we develop and give more foreign aid, future generations of Chinese could make mistakes if we do not take steps now to prevent the growth of a superpower mentality."

Commenting on Ceausescu's recent visit to China, *The Financial Times* remarked (June 24):

> While Moscow failed to give any discernible aid after last year's catastrophe in Romania, and even used it as a lever to exert pressure upon a troublesome neighbor, China accorded Romania significant help, followed last March by a long-term interest-free credit rumoured to reach $250 million.

"It must be patently clear to the U.S. Administration from the ambassadorial discussions in Warsaw," said the Chinese to me, "that we will never trade away our principles." At the time of my visit (before Kissinger arrived for his discussions with Chou En-lai on July 9), the Chinese still remained to be convinced that Nixon's China —or anti-China—policy had basically changed. His gestures on passports and trade relaxations were seen as concessions made largely to placate the domestic protest movement and as a reflection of divisions within American ruling circles, rather than as a radical policy switch. The Chinese, however, give full weight to the political and economic pressures on the Nixon Administration caused by military failure in Indochina and overextension in Asia, with the resultant inflation, high unemployment and weakening of the dollar.

For the Chinese, the central question in China-U.S. relations is the issue of Taiwan—"a province of China." "How can relations improve while the forcible occupation of Taiwan continues and until the United States pulls out of the Taiwan Straits?" remarked Chinese friends. China's seat in the United Nations is obviously another important issue, but, with one country after another having declared its intention not to support the two-thirds majority, "important question" resolution at the present General Assembly, the options left to Washington are narrowing week by week. The rebuff to Chiang Kai-shek implied in Mr. Nixon's announced visit to

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Peking can only accelerate this process. Rogers' proposed formula, which is nothing but a variation on the "two Chinas" theme, has been dismissed out of hand by the Chinese as "maladroit trickery."

> How to give "tit for tat" depends on the situation. Sometimes not going to negotiations is tit for tat; and sometimes going to negotiations is also tit for tat.
>
> —*Mao Tse-tung, October 17, 1945*

Most Chinese will find in the Nixon visit close similarities with the Chungking negotiations with Chiang Kai-shek in 1945. Those over 40 will remember the events, having lived through them, and those under will have read about them in Mao's two articles, from which the above quotation is taken. The Chinese people are, therefore, not apt to be as confused by the recent turn of events or as passive in response to them as some commentators would suggest. One can be sure that Mao's two 1945 articles are now being discussed in the thousands of study groups in factories, communes and schools throughout the country, and that analogies will be drawn between the America of today and the situation of the Kuomintang in 1945 which Mao described as: "riddled with a thousand gaping wounds, torn by innumerable inner contractions and beset with great difficulties."

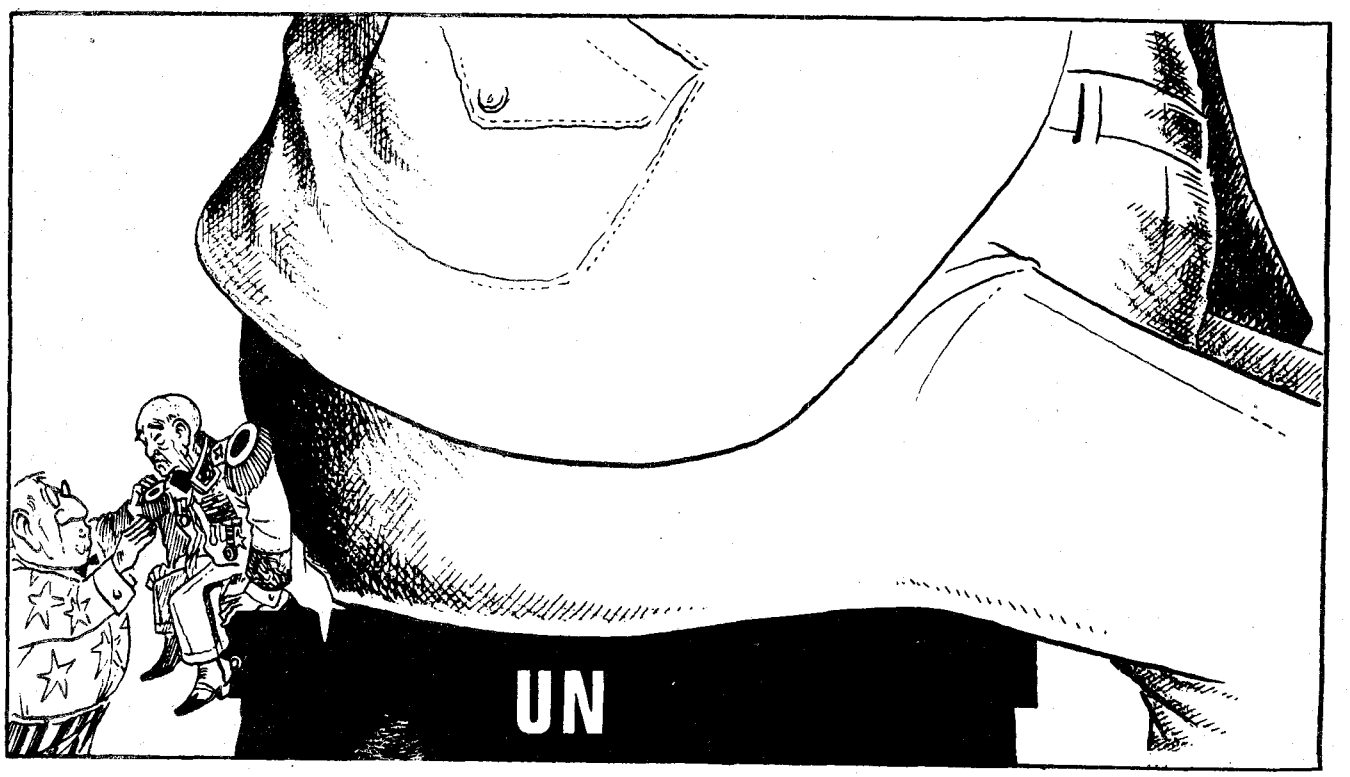
"We did not refuse to negotiate with Marshall or Chiang Kai-shek," I was told. "After World War II Chiang Kai-shek said he wanted to have peace, and Mao Tse-tung did not hesitate to go to Chungking to see him. But as Mao said: 'They were totally unprepared, and we had to make all the proposals.' In fact, those talks showed that Chiang had no proposals for peace and, as a result of the negotiations, more and more people came to understand his true position and he lost even the little support he had previously enjoyed."

Having made the overtures, Nixon will now have to work his passage if he is not to suffer a similar experience. We do not know what tentative suggestions Kissinger may have made during his twenty-hour discussions in Peking, but Nixon will certainly have to come forward with tangible proposals for changes in the American policy toward China if he is not to find that the popular support for his journey has turned into disappointment and anger. For once, Joseph Alsop has judged one aspect of the situation correctly; "this is a situation in which any derailment would be infinitely damaging to President Nixon." "Infinitely damaging" is strong language, but it does not exaggerate the extent of the President's commitment to produce significant results.

Does this mean that Nixon, if and when he gets to Peking, will come up against a blank wall; that the Chinese will make no concessions from their side? The Chungking negotiations again give the clue to what Nixon can expect:

> We on our side are prepared to make such concessions as are necessary and as do not damage the fundamental interests of the people. Without such concessions, we cannot explode the Kuomintang's civil war plot, cannot gain the political initiative, cannot win the sympathy of world public opinion . . . and cannot obtain in exchange . . . a state of peace. But there are limits to such concessions; the principle is that they must not damage the fundamental interests of the people.
>
> —*Mao Tse-tung, August 26, 1945*

From the first invitation to the table-tennis players, the choice of timing and method has rested with the Chinese, whatever claims Nixon may make for having engineered the pending encounter. His visit is an open acknowledgment to the world that the anti-China policy of his and earlier administrations has backfired. Dean



Vadillo, Siempre (Mexico)

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Acheson, when presenting the China White Paper (August 1949), had to admit that "the American people would not have sanctioned such a colossal commitment of our armies" to enable the Nationalists to destroy the Communists. Today, again, the rejection by the American people of its government's aggression in Asia has been a major element in forcing the change.

The timing of the visit leaves Nixon little area for maneuver. With the General Assembly in session, a deadline of May 1972 for the Peking visit, and the Presidential election on the horizon, he is shackled by certain imperatives. Failure to improve on Rogers' proposals as to China's U.N. seat could only prejudice the visit on which Nixon has staked so much. Assuming that this hurdle can be cleared, he has then to find a formula for the Taiwan and Taiwan Straits issue, or the visit is doomed in advance. And shadowing all the steps leading up to the eventual visit is the question of withdrawing American troops from the whole of Indochina on which the Chinese position has been and remains unequivocal.

It has been suggested that agreement to the Peking visit implies that Peking is putting the screws on Hanoi to reach a compromise solution and that China's other Asian friends look askance at the latest moves. Such an interpretation ignores the trend of China's relations with its neighbors, particularly since the Cambodian events of spring 1970. In their discussions with me, Chinese friends made frequent references to the existence of "a strong front from Korea through to Indochina—five countries and six sides," the five countries being Korea, China, Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, and North and South Vietnam being the two sides.

The Western press jumped to the conclusion that an editorial in the Hanoi newspaper, *Nhan Dan*, carried a criticism of China's recent policies, but a closer reading makes it clear that Peking would find little to quarrel with in Hanoi's analysis, which reaffirms Vietnam's independence (a cardinal principle of China's policy) and argues that one of Nixon's motives is to split the anti-imperialist alliance (which is as obvious to the Chinese as to the rest of the world). To suggest important differences between Hanoi and Peking is to fly in the face of historical trends. The Cambodian intervention was quickly followed by the Indochina summit meeting in south China of the Nationalist leaders of South and North Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. From this point a new quality can be observed in China's relations with its allies to the south. The Laos adventure brought the North Vietnamese and Chinese still closer together, as the joint communiqué of Chou En-lai and Pham Van Dong made abundantly clear. The speed with which China came out in support of Madame Binh's seven-point proposal, to which the United States has yet to respond, suggests that China had been fully consulted before it was advanced. For those with short memories or ulterior motives, Chou En-lai explained in his interview with the fifteen-member group of Concerned Asian Scholars that a complete withdrawal of U.S. forces from Indochina must take priority over the search for improved Sino-American relations.

> It might also be said that this demand is even stronger than the demand to restore the relations between the Chinese and American peoples, because the people of the United States do not want to sacrifice the lives of the American people in this dirty war.

Chou En-lai's visit to Pyongyang in April 1970 and the signing of a joint communiqué by the two governments marked a new turn toward a closer relationship between China and North Korea. The recent tenth anniversary celebrations of the Sino-Korean Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance, which involved government, party and people's exchanges—with delegations visiting between the two countries at the provincial level—were evidence enough that relations have never been firmer. Scotching any possible doubts, Marshall Kim Il-Sung has come out categorically in support of the Nixon visit, which he asserts "will not be a march of a victor but a trip of the defeated." Prince Sihanouk of Cambodia was one of the first to respond positively to the visit.

By any realistic assessment of the situation it seems apparent that, if the President is pinning any hopes on the assumption that his Peking visit will create divisions among China's Asian allies, he is sadly off beam. America's allies in Asia, on the other hand, can have no such comforting thoughts, Nixon having now pulled away the plank which earlier was the main justification for the bilateral alliances and SEATO to meet the "China threat."

Insofar as it indicates China's growing international prestige and world influence, and particularly its role in Asia, the proposal to visit Peking has made its impact, even if Nixon should never reach Peking. It is a depth charge under Chiang Kai-shek and a time bomb under Sato.

China's people-to-people policy has nowhere met with more success than in Japan, for obvious cultural and historical reasons. Thousands of Japanese—businessmen, delegations from political parties, cultural groups and so forth—have been visiting China for many years, and on their return home have added to the pressure for a new China policy. The Diet Members League for Establishment of Diplomatic Relations with China boasts 379 members, an important section of them being members of Sato's Liberal Democratic Party. The Nixon proposal has obviously added fuel to this fire, coming as it does at a time when U.S.-Japanese relations are at their lowest ebb since the war.

The clash of economic interests between the two countries becomes if anything sharper as the decline of the U.S. economy and the weakening of the dollar continue. A balance of trade consistently in Japan's favor, import restrictions on electronic computers and other sensitive items, a tough Japanese attitude to foreign investment and a strong resistance to Mr. Nixon's pressure to revalue the yen, keep economic tempers frayed. On the other side, protectionist lobbies representing the textile and automobile sectors seem determined to use the Okinawa reversion to extort economic advantages of one sort or another.

On top of all this, Nixon's proposed visit has added strength to the pro-China lobby and created for Sato a dilemma which, says the *Financial Times*, "could reach crisis proportions."

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Even before Kissinger's July visit to Peking, Premier Thanom Kittikachorn of Thailand was making friendly noises in the direction of Peking. He had ordered all government radio stations in both internal and overseas programs to cease their propaganda attacks on China. The Foreign Minister, Thanat Khoman, spoke of a narrowing of differences with China, adding that there had been "too much war for too long in Southeast Asia. It is time for the people of this region to enjoy peace and stability."

In Thailand, too, economic problems play a part in the shifts of policy. The weak international market for Thailand's rice exports and the cuts in U.S. military aid, the reduction of bases, etc., were major factors in the economic downturn which in 1969 produced the country's first balance of payments deficit in years. An even larger deficit followed in 1970.

Nixon's visit will hardly reassure South Korea, whose economy has become so dependent on the United States, which takes half of its exports, a large part of them textiles. And protectionist noises in Washington reverberate alarmingly in Seoul.

Thus, a combination of political and economic body blows is seriously disorienting America's Asian allies. How long will America's friends in Asia be prepared to take up the cudgels against a threat which Nixon is now demonstrating to be more imaginary than real? "Any move Nixon makes in any of these situations sends shock waves through all the others," commented William Shannon recently in the *International Herald Tribune*. Indeed, in their disarray following Nixon's announcement, America's Far Eastern allies seem all too like the troops in Macaulay's poem where: "Those behind cried 'Forward!' And those before cried 'Back!' "

One wonders whether, faced with this situation, Nixon stands by his policy statement of February 1970:

> The United States will keep all its treaty commitments. We shall provide a shield if a nuclear power threatens the freedom of a nation allied with us, or of a nation whose survival we consider vital to our security and the security of the region as a whole. In cases involving other types of aggression we shall furnish military and economic assistance when requested and as appropriate.

This drew from Earl C. Ravenal, former director of the Asian Division of the U.S. Office of the Secretary of Defense, the comment: "Thus the root problem of the Nixon doctrine is its abiding commitment to the containment of China."

How does Nixon propose to reconcile his Asian commitments with his attempts to improve Sino-U.S. relations? In view of its patent failure, is he now prepared to abandon the "containment of China" policy? This "root problem" remains a cardinal question for the American people, for the peoples of Asia, and for the rest of the world. □

VENGEANCE OR HOPE?

Due Process Behind Prison Walls

MATHEW O. TOBRINER
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In the last few weeks the lid has blown off that ugliest aspect of the American legal system: the penitentiary. And one issue that has emerged from the tragic events is the responsibility of judges to offenders after conviction—an issue that, long neglected, now compels, and in part has arrested, the attention of the courts.

The sensitivity that the courts have displayed in erecting constitutional protections for the poor and the disadvantaged cannot ignore the poorest and most disadvantaged of all: the condemned criminal defendant. Thus the courts at last are beginning to define at least some basic rights of convicted criminals; in so doing, the legal instrument they have used tentatively, and will probably use more fully, is procedural due process.

In his speech to the Association of the Bar of the City of New York, Chief Justice Warren Burger recognized the inadequacy of present conviction procedures: "We take on a burden when we put a man behind walls, and that burden is to give him a chance to change. . . . If we deny him that, we deny him his status as a human being, and to deny that is to diminish our humanity and plant the seeds of future anguish for ourselves." In a speech to the National Association of Attorneys General in February 1970, Chief Justice Burger urged the states to develop methods for hearing the grievances of prisoners "promptly, fully and fairly." He suggested that reform could come through rules of court, legislation "or whatever means is available."

Due process of law stems from the Fourteenth Amendment, which states: "No State shall . . . deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; . . ." When the courts have applied this mandate they have considered it from two standpoints: "procedural" due process, which expresses the individual's protection against the destruction of basic or significant rights by government without an effective hearing; and "substantive" due process, which articulates, in essence, protection against the arbitrary destruction of such basic or significant rights by the government without rational explanation and without reason for such conduct. I concern myself here mainly with recent significant decisions that expand the application of *procedural* due process, in the fields of both civil and criminal law. These decisions are not only landmarks in themselves but point to further developments in both areas.

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Even with the recent resignations of the late Justice Black and Justice Harlan, a Court majority of five has shown positive support for the notion of expanding due process, at least in the civil area. I base this observation on the records of the Justices in five key decisions.

In *Bell* v. *Burson* (1971) 402 U.S. 535, the Court held unconstitutional the suspension of a driver's license under a financial responsibility law because it provided no hearing on probable fault and liability. In *Wisconsin* v. *Constantineau* (1971) 400 U.S. 433, the Court struck down a statute for posting in bars public notice of habitual drunkenness, on the ground that the legislation gave no notice or hearing to the subject of the publication. *Goldberg* v. *Kelly* (1970) 397 U.S. 254, condemned the removal of a client from the welfare rolls without a prior hearing. *Sniadach* v. *Family Finance Corp.* (1969) 395 U.S. 337, held unconstitutional the garnishment of wages without a hearing to the garnishee. In ruling that an indigent in a divorce proceeding was denied due process because her inability to pay court fees kept her out of court, Justice Harlan, in *Boddie* v. *Connecticut* (1971) 401 U.S. 371, wrote ". . . an individual [must] be given an opportunity for a hearing *before* he is deprived of any significant property interest."

Four of the present Justices, Douglas, Brennan, Marshall and White, have consistently supported the notion that the government cannot move against "a significant private interest" without according procedural due process. A fifth, Justice Stewart, has usually supported the other four, but his approach has tended to be more critical. Nonetheless, Justice Stewart will apparently support procedural due process upon a showing of the following factors: that harm to the individual is great or peculiarly offensive, that the burden of due process is not unusually heavy for the government, and that history has not traditionally accorded the government a prerogative of exclusive authority in the area of concern.

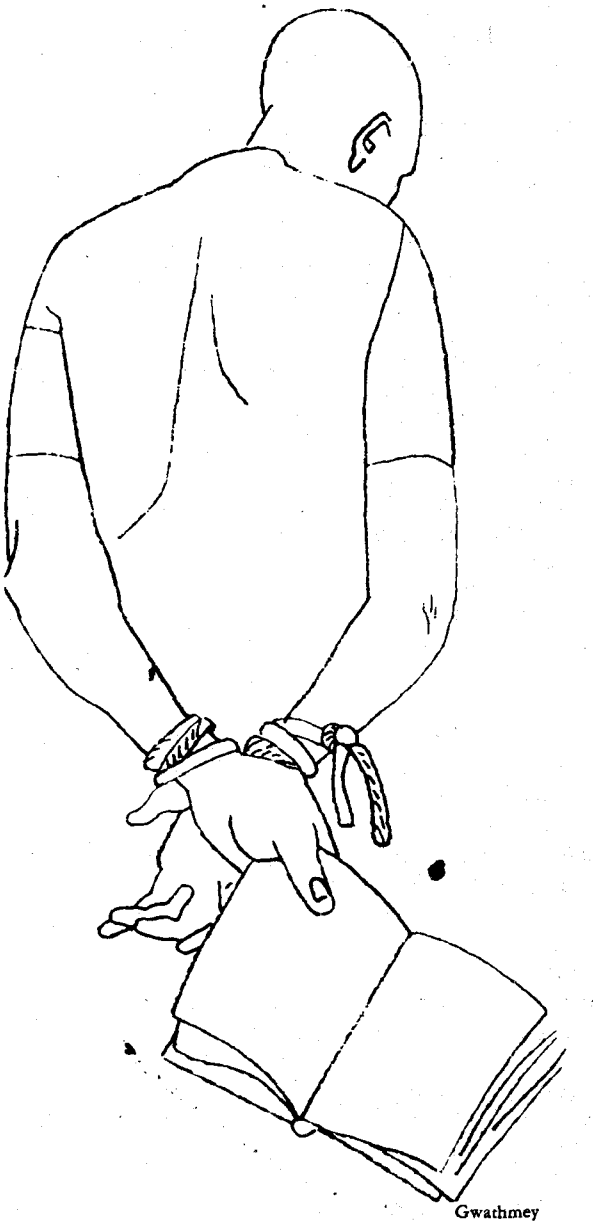
As for the remaining two Justices, Burger and Blackmun, we have yet to see any opinion from them directly opposed to the notion of procedural due process as applied to protect a private right. But they have shown an inclination to employ collateral motivations, such as the abstention doctrine, to avoid supporting the majority in upholding the requirement of procedural due process. Hence, among the present seven Justices, I would say that we have four consistent supporters, one strong supporter, and two who are at the least very doubtful in regard to procedural due process.

There can be no doubt that the recent decisions have at least stripped away ancient encrustments from areas and relationships that were seemingly closed to judicial scrutiny. Nor can I conceive that their impact will be confined to their specific subject matter. The procedural due process that the Supreme Court has recognized in matters of garnishment and welfare may well be applied now to the area of present concern: the post-conviction period in criminal proceedings.

Indeed, in the field of criminal law the extension of due process beyond conviction will but follow the basic advances already made in the accusative and trial stages of the process. Not only have constitutional protections been elaborated in the criminal trial itself but the Supreme Court, in the important case of *Mempa* v. *Rhay* (1967) 389 U.S. 128, has extended to the defendant the right to a hearing and the right to appointed counsel in probation revocation.

Today we are beginning to recognize that post-conviction processes of the criminal law may cause the affected individual even more grievous losses than those inflicted by other procedures for which due process has been constitutionally compelled. For example, when parole or probation is revoked, the conditionally released individual is deprived of his previous freedom to live a normal, albeit supervised, life. If a person is to be protected by procedural due process, and granted a hearing, before he suffers "significant deprivation" by being denied his welfare payments, then does he not have an even greater claim to such process before his parole is revoked and he is returned to prison?

Yet several states still precipitately uproot the parolee from the life he has reconstructed for himself, reincar-



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cerating him and giving him no right by law to be informed of the charges, to enter a defense, and possibly to prove his innocence of parole violation. Unfortunately, California is among such states and, as a dissenter from a recent majority decision, I concluded my opinion with this observation: "A fundamental purpose of due process of law is to give the individual the chance to be heard, so that the ascertainment of the truth will prevent arbitrary and unjust state action. Why should the parolee be denied this chance to be heard?"

Much more difficult will be the extension of procedural due process to the somewhat elusive decision of the Adult Authority in California as to whether to grant parole and set the prisoner's term. The Adult Authority is charged with the obligation of determining whether the prisoner is ready to live outside prison walls. Commentators have urged that if this decision is to be reached rationally, with full presentation of the relevant facts and with adequate attention to the rights of the prisoner, due process must ultimately be accorded here.

Other archaic walls of Jericho could conceivably come tumbling down. What of the treatment of inmates of the penitentiary or jail itself? Courts have rarely looked into this formerly sacrosanct enclosure, but some judges now recognize that inmates may properly claim some constitutional rights. Will inmates be accorded a due process hearing before being subjected to disciplinary penalties which are not only onerous in themselves but usually result in an extension of the prison term? If due process protection applies to the fixing of probation, should it not protect the inmate from the fixing of penalties?

Prison and jail officials are charged with determining when individual prisoners should be placed in isolation for rule infractions, should be subjected to loss of privileges, should be permitted to receive particular books and magazines, or should be transferred to a more restricted custody facility. The prison officials now do hold hearings with respect to some of these matters, but inmates have ordinarily not been afforded such protections of due process as the right to present witnesses, or to a hearing before an officer who is not intimately associated with the prison authorities.

Courts in the past have found various excuses for not applying due process to sentencing, probation, parole and prison cases. They have rationalized their failure to act by declaring that no rights, only "privileges" and "grace," are involved; that these procedures are merely administrative, not judicial; that the affected individual has already been convicted and thus can claim no protectable interest in the kind of custody he will receive. Such findings really mean that convicted defendants, probationers, parolees and prisoners have been considered non-persons, subhumans, or defenseless "slaves of the state." I submit that the courts may no longer escape into these primitive sanctuaries; the realities of the day compel them to face the problems emerging in these crucial areas.

The realities are strikingly illustrated in an opinion recently written by Judge Zirpoli of the Federal District Court for the Northern District of California (*Cluchette* v. *Procunier* (N.D. Cal. 1971 No. C-702497 A.J. 2). The court held that "the disciplinary procedures employed at San Quentin Prison violate the Fourteenth Amendment" by failing to provide to the inmate procedural due process. The opinion explained that each housing unit at San Quentin has a disciplinary committee which meets weekly, and, when charges are preferred against a prisoner, informs him of the charges and receives his plea of guilty or not guilty. But the inmate is not "entitled to call witnesses or to confront the persons who prepared the reports against him. He is not entitled to the assistance of either a lawyer, a staff member, or another inmate who might help to present a defense to the charges." Nor are the other safeguards of procedural due process afforded to the inmate.

Among actions which the disciplinary committee may take against the prisoner is assignment to an isolation cell or to segregation status. As Judge Zirpoli points out: "A regular isolation cell is 5 feet by 9 feet, concrete construction, with a barred door; it is furnished with a cot, a sink and a toilet. . . . A prisoner in isolation spends at least 23 hours a day in his cell, being permitted to leave only for a brief period each day, when he may walk up and down alone in the narrow passageway in front of his cell. If the disciplinary committee orders that the prisoner be kept on 'cell status' he remains in his cell 24 hours a day, without even the brief respite otherwise permitted for exercise." The inmate is permitted no reading matter whatsoever, and, of course, no radio or television. "There is very little difference between 'isolation' and the Adjustment Center. Adjustment Center inmates are compelled to spend their days in idleness, confined to their cells 23 hours a day, 7 days a week."

The recognition of the inmate's right to a meaningful notice, charges, hearing, confrontation of accusers and presentation of witnesses will not only protect him from arbitrary and onerous punishment; it will also bring the practices of our prisons before the courts and the public.

Sooner or later the light of public inquiry must come to these dark places. Perhaps that inquiry will produce reasoned answers to neglected questions. Is the prison to serve merely as a depositary for the individual who breaks the law, and an expression of public vengeance against him? Is the prison the awful emblem of public hate against those who violate society's rules—the tomb of public anger? Until we can regard the prison as a place to which persons dangerous to society are removed, so that efforts may be made for their rehabilitation; and until some more realistic methods can be employed to restore those offenders to a normal life, the high recidivism and consequent danger to the public will probably continue.

As Dr. Karl Menninger eloquently stated in *The Crime of Punishment*, "In the last analysis this becomes a question of personal morals and values. No matter how glorified or how piously disguised, vengeance as a human motive must be personally repudiated by each and every one of us. This is the message of old religions and new psychiatries. Unless this message is heard, unless we, the people—the man on the street, the housewife in the home—can give up our delicious satisfactions in opportunities for vengeful retaliation on scapegoats, we cannot expect to preserve our peace, our public safety, or our mental health. Can we? Will we?" □

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WALKING OUT ON THE SYSTEM

VIRGINIA HELD

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In the current language of political argument, the term "strike" is frequently used in distinctly unordinary ways. Students in recent years have claimed to be "striking" against their universities, "striking" against a political system that has continued to engage in a war they consider evil, and even "striking" against a corrupt society. For some years Women Strike for Peace has been urging housewives and other women to "strike" against U.S. foreign policy in Southeast Asia.

In the spring of 1970, whole universities were sometimes described as being "on strike" against the American political system or the wider society to protest the United States' invasion of Cambodia and the shooting of students at Kent State University and at Jackson State College. There has been talk of rent "strikes" and welfare "strikes," and in New York City an independent board of mediation has been established to deal with the "community disputes" that have become almost more noticeable than labor-management disputes. The Mayday and some other anti-war demonstrations in the spring of 1971 were aimed at interrupting the work of government in somewhat the same way that a strike interrupts the work of industry. That further sit-ins and obstructions of various kinds can be expected, along with refusals of students and others to "work," is now generally acknowledged; whether some of these activities may themselves constitute "strikes" is a possibility to be examined.

All sides have certainly become more sophisticated in their predictions of just what it may or may not be possible to accomplish by student and other comparable "strikes." But as the history of labor disturbances makes evident, a strike does not have to be successful to merit description as such, and, in the early days of industrial labor stoppages, workers refusing to work were undoubtedly as confused and uncertain about the nature, the justification and the effectiveness of their actions as were students and other protesters in the 1960s. Before 1842, American courts generally held *all* labor organizations to be illegal per se, indictable as criminal conspiracies no matter what their aims or activities. And it was almost a century after that before the rights of workers to organize and defend themselves against corporate tyranny were clearly established.

We seem not yet to have developed a clear idea of what can best be meant by "striking against the political system," or a unit of it, for political and social rather than for primarily economic reasons. But actions are occurring, and others are foreseeable, which seem to call for just such an idea. When the primary objects of protest are the decisions and conditions provided by the political arrangements within which people live, can "strikes" be directed against political institutions, and can they perhaps achieve good results? Such strikes may be among the actions called for by Arnold Kaufman in this passage from *The Radical Liberal*: "the strategic concept I am proposing is that of using any device, short of open rebellion or revolution, to bring pressure to bear in support of liberal aims." Would they be in line with the dominant intent of mass protest in recent years: to redress grievances through political action? The study directed by Jerome Skolnick, published as *The Politics of Protest*, concludes that "almost uniformly, the participants in mass protest today see their grievances as rooted in the existing arrangements of power and authority in contemporary society, and they view their own activity as political action—on a direct or symbolic level—aimed at altering those arrangements." Would political strikes be appropriate forms of such action? Would such strikes have to consist in the usual withholding of the striker's own work, or could there be other, and perhaps more effective forms of political strikes? What would citizens' strikes for better political conditions look like?

Historically, there have been political strikes, in the sense that workers have put down their tools for political as well as for more narrow economic reasons; in Europe such strikes are still fairly common. In the United States, however, since the ascendancy of the tactics and policies of Samuel Gompers in the 1890s, labor strikes have been almost entirely confined to economic issues, and even those have been narrowly construed to include workers' wages and direct working conditions rather than questions of industrial organization and control.

Even were the model of the general labor strike for political objectives capable of adaptation at some level in this country, it would probably be unsuited to large-scale participation in furthering the purposes of the Left: the "essential workers" would be likely to line up on the other side. Labor strikes with more limited political objectives should not be ruled out, and one can certainly hope that workers will eventually democratize somewhat their own highly authoritarian corporate structures. But the attitudes of labor at the present time are not such as to promise fundamental political reforms through the united action of workers.

Those with more sympathy toward political strikes for progressive objectives have less in the way of work to withhold. Students, however united they might become and no matter how many professors joined them, could hardly shut down the society or starve the bourgeoisie by refusing to open their books. Women walking off their unpaid or poorly paid "jobs" could cause vast inconvenience to those who benefit most from their labor, but the independent resources of women are thin indeed, and they are the group least likely to risk the welfare of

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their children for political goals. Many blacks, the poor, the recipients of welfare, are similarly apt to be in non-essential jobs, or unemployed, and again can seldom exert much pressure by refusing to work. In short, those who might be expected to be most inclined to favor large-scale citizens' strikes against the present political system or units of it are those who can wield the least power by "stoppages of work" in the normal sense of the term. The analogies must be rethought from the foundations.

The government of the United States seems at present to be, in significant respects, rather like a super-corporation, and in some ways not much more subject to electoral control than are business corporations. There has been a vast increase in the importance and numbers of governmental decisions that are relatively unaffected by the electoral process. This follows the earlier trend in industry, discernible by the 1930s, in which power shifted from the owners of stock to the managers of large corporations. Today, in the sphere of super-government, politicians may win or lose, but, effectively insulated, the managers of the military-industrial complex hardly notice. And there is a large managerial bureaucracy for nonmilitary activities, including regulatory agencies which serve the interests regulated more effectively than they do those of the public, and layers of "professionals" and "civil servants," who increase the distance between

the citizen and the source of the decisions made for and about and upon him. Perhaps, in the cases of both industry and government, *the key relation now is between the managers and the managed*. If that is admitted, a number of our usual conceptions may be radically revised.

To tell a citizen who is profoundly dissatisfied with his political conditions to go out and work for better candidates may seem not utterly unlike telling a workingman, profoundly resentful of his working conditions, to try to persuade the stockholders that they should select a new management. Formally, stockholders "control" the corporation, and it might be suggested that to get the corporation's management to change its policies, the worker could organize rallies, circulate petitions, leave literature at appropriate doorsteps, and have students with fresh haircuts confront stockholders (sometimes including their fathers) with the arguments for higher wages.

Of course that's not how workers act. To meet the power of corporate management they have developed the strike as their weapon, and those who control the conditions of work have learned to bargain with workers' groups. A question many who wish to change present tendencies in the political system may now ask is: Can the politically discontented develop a form of action as justifiable and effective as the labor strike? Bargaining has of course been at the heart of politics from the beginning of time, but political bargaining now seems comparable to the stage of economic bargaining between one group of stockholders and another, or one faction of management and another. That kind of bargaining was not what brought workers decent wages, hours and conditions of employment, and it is clear that bargaining between management and workers would never have developed as it did if workers had not fashioned the technique of the strike.

If the object of protest is a governmental policy or law, and if electoral and interest group politics are inadequate to meet the requirements of conscientious action, we are accustomed to thinking of the possibilities of civil disobedience, resistance or revolution, rather than of striking. But perhaps the techniques of the economic strike could be imported into the political sector of the society with good results, although the action might no longer consist merely in a refusal to work. Even industrial strikes can often be limited to a simple withdrawal of work only after the cohesion and corporate recognition of workers has been achieved.

The first characteristic of a strike that must be noted is that it is a *collective* action. An individual acting alone cannot conduct a strike. A strike must involve significant numbers of persons acting together. If a nonviolent protest involving civil disobedience and directed specifically at a political target is a collective action, that may distinguish it from civil disobedience, or even resistance, as frequently understood. Civil disobedience is a violation of law on grounds of conscience; resistance is a refusal to accept the legal penalties of such violation. Both are associated with individual action and individual conscience. Of course, many persons can together perform such actions, but they are each acting as individuals, and the participation of others is in no way required for the acts in question to be defined as civil disobedience or resistance. Nonviolent collective protests, on the other hand, may well be such that their collective nature is esssential to them.

After the multiplicity of nondisruptive demonstrations in recent years, demonstrations have come to be such ordinary parts of the political scene as to be, frequently, of little significance and less effect. Violent revolution continues to appear to most of its potential recruits as either unnecessary or impossible, and isolated acts of civil disobedience or resistance, however justifiable, too often seem futile. What may now be in the process of development are intermediate forms of action: collective, fre-

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quently but not necessarily in violation of law, and capable of exerting real pressure on the political managers the way strikes exert real pressure on the managers of corporations. Perhaps the term "citizens' strike" could appropriately be used for such collective interferences with normal activities of the political system, even though a withholding of the participant's own work is no longer a dominant feature of such strikes.

The political system, like the economy, is broken up into units or subsystems of varying dimension: there is this city agency, that federal department, this armed forces unit, that county office. A political system is that which authoritatively makes rules, decides policies, and allocates goods in a society. The authority under which this is done may be *formal*—such as that possessed by officials with governmental titles—or *effective*—such as that possessed by a commercial interest group which turns out to have the power to get a policy accepted. Formal authority approximates previously established effective authority and allows for predictions on the basis of who occupies what offices. Effective authority approximates future power which can only be guessed at until after the fact.

In a cohesive system, many persons translate the sentence "X has authority" into "What X commands ought to be done"; but for political decisions to be authoritative in almost any sense, they must be accepted at least grudgingly by those affected by them. And just as the corporation cannot turn out products unless the workers put up with the working conditions offered them, so a political system cannot turn out authoritative decisions unless its members put up with the social conditions it provides.

If groups of members of a political system or subsystem refuse to accept the conditions they are offered, and if this refusal is organized and substantial, an appropriate description of the situation might seem to be: *the citizens are on strike*. As such occurrences become more and more frequent, and they appear to be doing so, the political managers, to avoid them, may begin to bargain in earnest with those whose grievances cannot be met by a suggestion that they take their problems to the ballot box. All too often, the voting public reveals itself to be a reflection of the selfish interests of the regnant majority rather than a collectivity concerned that many obvious requirements for social justice are still glaringly outstanding in the richest nation, or aware of the minimal responsibilities a political system must meet to assure its own future and the possibilities of international peace. With the development of political strikes, citizens of conscience may perhaps not remain at the mercy of electoral largesse or judicial innovation. To the extent that their actions may be coercive upon those in power, this coercion should be no less justifiable than that already employed by the political system. But evaluations along such lines should lead to recommendations for restraint, not to immobility.

Which sorts of political strike activities may be justifiably coercive and which sorts may not will have to be worked out in detail, just as the lines between acceptable and unacceptable union "coercion" have had to be worked out. The lines for labor have obviously shifted from pre-1914 conceptions that allowed injunctions to be issued forbidding even attempts to persuade, and from later days when a single picket for "communication and persuasion" was allowed at each gate, but mass picketing was prohibited. The uses made of injunctions in the 1920s, when any union action which intentionally interfered with interstate commerce could be interpreted as an illegal "restraint of trade," belong to the past. Similar shifts may be appropriate in our conceptions with regard to political or citizens' strikes.

Familiar forms of protest which may be used in citizens' strikes could be the blocking of entrances to governmental buildings, the deliberate interference with military or defense-industrial activities, the nonpayment of kinds or percentages of taxes, the refusal to move from an official's office, and so on. Certainly new forms may be imagined and developed, but with the growing awareness of the purposes, and of the grounds for justifying such strikes, the particular form adopted may be less important than the organization of large numbers of persons to go on strike against a unit of the political system, or against the system as a whole, when in their opinion such action is appropriate to bring about specific benefits.

In that context, the political or citizens' strike will not be thought of as a rare and extreme response, appropriate only for the most outrageous or tyrannical of governments or laws, or the most blatant violations of fundamental rights. It will be directed toward decisions and policies which the political managers chosen as targets have the authority to change, and may come to be thought of, by participants and observers alike, as no more outlandish than a labor union strike. To be out on bail or in jail as a result of such activities may come to seem rather like refusing to work—uncomfortable, costly and sometimes painful—but hardly cause for much more righteous fury than a banker now expends on a striking hard-hat.

Most Americans today take it for granted that in order to gain a wage he can live with a worker may be justified in going on strike against a corporation. It is not much more difficult to argue that, under present conditions, in order to gain a political decision he or she can live with, a conscientious citizen may be justified in going on strike against a political system or a unit of it. Unless forms of political action that exceed the present bounds of electoral and interest group politics are developed, and in time given legal scope, discontent among conscientious citizens with their political conditions may well reach flood proportions. □

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BOOKS & THE ARTS

The Compleat Outside Agitator

RULES FOR RADICALS. *By Saul D. Alinsky. Random House. 196 pp. $6.95.*

TODD GITLIN
Mr. Gitlin has been a community organizer and is co-author of Uptown: Poor Whites in Chicago *(Harper & Row).*

In a time of rapid change, amidst shifts not only in style but in the social bedrock beneath style, any person who maintains the same insurgent politics for more than thirty years is remarkable. Of course there are inducements: success in one's own terms is the greatest. For example, some years before the end of his thirty-year long march to revolution, Mao smelled success, but long before the seizure of power seemed imminent Mao had been able to erect standards for intermediate successes, to change his line—indeed to make line-changing part of the line—and to convey his total confidence to party cadres and ordinary Chinese. But in America, those radicals (mostly Communists and Trotskyists) who have sustained the same world view from the thirties through the early seventies, unconfirmed by any detectable success, seem merely mechanical; they have carried ideology and method like great burdens through the decades, and seem weighed down by a steadfastness that is finally external to themselves. Their writing is dead, their enthusiasm ritualized, and their ideas long past ready for a museum.

Then what are we to make of Saul Alinsky? Unlike his contemporaries in the Left parties, he is vivid and human; he writes engagingly and gives off energy in his new book as he does in person. Yet he has been peddling the same brew since he organized Chicago's Back of the Yards in the late thirties and published *Reveille for Radicals* in 1946. There is something paradoxical here: energy within stasis. Of course Alinsky is a loner and an activist, an uncommon combination, and if he had the singular audacity to make that synthesis in the thirties we can begin to understand why his certitude has been unshaken by World War II, Hiroshima, the bureaucratization of the unions, the cold war, the civil rights movement, Black Power, the New Left, Vietnam, and the totality of political-economic and cultural changes of the last thirty years. During that time he has been reviled both by the Left and by such pillars of society as the Catholic Church and Eastman Kodak; yet, refusing to acknowledge specific criticism, he keeps bouncing back with puckish assurance. Though he says that he wrote *Rules for Radicals* out of desperation, he has a uniquely wry-cheerful, even winning way of expressing desperation.

Alinsky has always believed in the American dream and his place in it. *Reveille for Radicals* was drenched in evocations of the American spirit which would have embarrassed Walt Whitman. It seems not his offhand opinion but his conviction that America is uniquely destined to greatness if only people will follow his "rules" and get organized. At the heart of his "rules" is the standard package of American truisms. First, *pluralism*: if the poor and powerless combine in rough-tough organizations, they will get what they want, which will turn out to be what everyone wants, an honorable place at the cornucopia; or if it is anything else, Alinsky doesn't tell us. Second, *pragmatism* of a watered-down and murky sort, and a fascination with technique which substitutes for a clear and supple philosophy. ("An organizer working in and for an open society is in an ideological dilemma. To begin with, he does not have a fixed truth—truth to him is relative and changing; everything to him is relative and changing." Here Alinsky almost sounds like Mao in his more trivial moods.) Third, *political orthodoxy* of the Democratic-Republican sort. ("To diminish the danger that ideology will deteriorate into dogma . . . no ideology should be more specific than that of America's founding fathers: 'for the general welfare.'" And again, he believes in "all those rights and values propounded by Judaeo-Christianity and the democratic political tradition.") And fourth, *patriotism*. (Organizing against the *status quo* is "more than I can do in Moscow, Peking or Havana. . . . Let's keep some perspective.") A blend of these absurd clichés is all he offers for social theory; and yet he claims to be a radical, wears the description proudly, and continues to organize communities and to accumulate enemies like Phi Beta Kappa keys. Plainly he must have something else to offer.

I think that something is the identity that he has carved out. Alinsky has succeeded in becoming one of the bad boys of this society: a kind of Norman Mailer of politics. He loves the gusto of combat; the few personal anecdotes he tells of his confrontations with power, he tells with relish. He is proud of having been reviled in the press, and cocksure in his assumption of the amoral tough-guy stance. A long chapter of this book is devoted to a discussion of means-ends problems, in which he infuses the stock principles of almost all politics with a gleeful wickedness that seems altogether incommensurate with the banality of the principles themselves. Is it news that "one's concerns with the ethics of means and ends varies inversely with one's personal interest in the issue"? That "the less important the end to be desired, the more one can afford to engage in ethical evaluations of means"? Perhaps Alinsky envisions himself as shocking a class of bright-eyed seminarians. You would think those principles were being invoked to justify the murder of the kulaks rather than the somewhat mild tactics Alinsky actually recommends. Faced with moralists who accomplish nothing, Alinsky insists on the primacy of self-interest, though "all effective actions require the passport of morality." Thus the bad boy, who wants and expects to be scolded by authority for testing the limits of authority's own precepts. By careful and seemingly artless gesture he succeeds in reminding authority how far he will go —and how far he will not. Sometimes he appears to want out, but at bottom the last thing he wants is to leave the family. He wants to be hated, even feared, because that assures him he is alive, loved, and attended to. The bad boy who recruits friends (organizes people) guarantees that he will be taken seriously. But it is finally from authority (if Alinsky's own account is to be believed) that he receives his cachet of recognition.

None of which is to say that Alinsky does not believe in organizing the poor and others in their own behalf, though it is curious that someone who insists that all morality is either rationalization or luxury does not disclose his own motives for placing himself at other people's service. We should know more about his passion, not to discredit it but to gain insight into the psychology of that rare and crucial animal, the organizer. As it is, Alinsky has exempted himself from his own categorical imperative.

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If he thinks he needs to conceal himself for the sake of his polemical effectiveness, then he must risk the great chance that his motives express themselves in contradiction with his stated principles.

Alinsky seems to have learned his politics from John L. Lewis, whose biography he wrote in 1949. Lewis was the workers' man who succeeded in rationalizing the coal industry against its own petty-competitive shortsightedness. Essentially he shared the corporations' vision of the proper relations between company and worker. Lewis may or may not have known that this was what he was doing at the time, but the fruits are plain: the failure of the United Mine Workers of America to arrest corporate control over working life, and the authoritarianism of the union itself. Alinsky took the CIO idea of industrywide organization and applied it to slum communities. In Back of the Yards, Woodlawn, and other places, he specialized in creating an "organization of organizations," a federation of "community leaders" whose legitimacy arose from churches, unions, fraternal clubs, etc. At times Alinsky has also tried to involve unaffiliated people in neighborhood organization fighting against urban renewal, for jobs, etc.—but basically for recognition by the powers that be. The new federation aims to be a local City Hall, a geographical business union. The demands are specific and achievable within the framework of existing power. Thus "the organizer must be able to split himself into two parts—one part in the arena of action where he polarizes the issue to 100 to nothing, and helps to lead his forces into conflict, while the other part knows that when the time comes for negotiation that it really is only a 10 per cent difference—and yet both parts have to live comfortably with each other."

Alinsky doesn't blink at the deception, but worse, he is trapped in the pluralist assumption of the legitimacy of all competing interests. Management (City Hall) has its prerogatives; the workers (residents) have theirs; and the differences, as clearly implied by Alinsky's percentage formulation, are merely quantitative. Alinsky even inflates this quantitative principle into Holy Writ: "A society devoid of compromise is totalitarian. If I had to define a free and open society in one word, the word would be 'compromise.'" Well, to be prepared for compromise, short of the all-or-nothing revolution, is one thing, but to lodge compromise at the heart of all political activity is to accept the overarching, determinant power of corporations and the state—forever. Alinsky cannot or will not see past the bustle of tomorrow's deals to a situation in which, after many tomorrows, the quantitative encroachment becomes qualitative and power has been diffused. There is no sign that Alinsky is aware of the recent critique, in the works of Gabriel Kolko, James Weinstein and others, of progressive reform and trade unionism as weapons of the vanguard of the ruling class. But in the absence of such a critique and a transcendent vision, Alinsky's approach, like the CIO's, can lead only to the integration of insurgent groups into the lower reaches of the political system. About socialism or anarcho-syndicalism or any visionary variant, Alinsky says nothing, though he deplores the fact that "we have permitted a suicidal situation to unfold wherein revolution and communism have become one. These pages are committed to splitting this political atom. . . ." By Alinsky's own standard, the book is a failure. The rival vision is simply not there. The revolution is indefinitely postponed, supplanted by technique.

And therefore the organizer's schizophrenia, morality aside, can have only dire effects. Facing the people organized, he accepts the "100 to nothing" polarization, only to lead "his forces" into a confrontation to secure a 10 per cent increment. It is one thing to prepare people for a compromise made necessary by the fact that they are not powerful enough (yet) to win anything different—if the specific necessity of that compromise is clear to the insurgents. Then at least the terms of their impotence are known, and they may straightforwardly discuss the prospect for a movement that would transcend quantitative demands. The organized, in other words, would learn the same sort of schizophrenia with which the organizer is equipped; and would therefore be able to outgrow him more easily. But when the followers are simply misled, they do

HOPE

Homage and Adieu to Armando Socarras Ramírez

> Cuban hidden in landing gear survives
> flight to Spain at -40 degrees.
> —*The New York Times, June 5, 1969*

According to the American press, the flight
From Havana to Madrid in the unheated,
Unpressurized wheel pod of a jet airliner
Takes nine hours at 29,000 feet.

In three minutes, the doctors say, one loses
Consciousness from lack of oxygen,
And dies soon after; though, if one survive,
It is 40 degrees below zero outside—

With lids clenched, in the wheel pod where you clung
In only a thin shirt, pants, and one shoe.
The American makers of that DC-8
Said one chance in a million existed

That you remain uncrushed when the wheels retracted:
A contortionist might fit himself around
The double gear, hydraulic pipes, and brackets.
The paper noted you were a welder, though—

Who shared your space with a friend, whose body blew
Away in the airstream when the gear was tested.
The paper said you opposed the Communist system.
You spoke fluently from your hospital bed,

But lacked complete coherence as you begged
Not to be sent back. Doctors sighed that construction
Of the pod may well have saved your life.
The pilot's gentle landing at last was credited.

But, after many days, in that sanctuary—
Exposing while it protected—and their insistence,
Dead-pan you told the poised policemen all
The reasons for your flight . . . as wit proposed them.

David Galler

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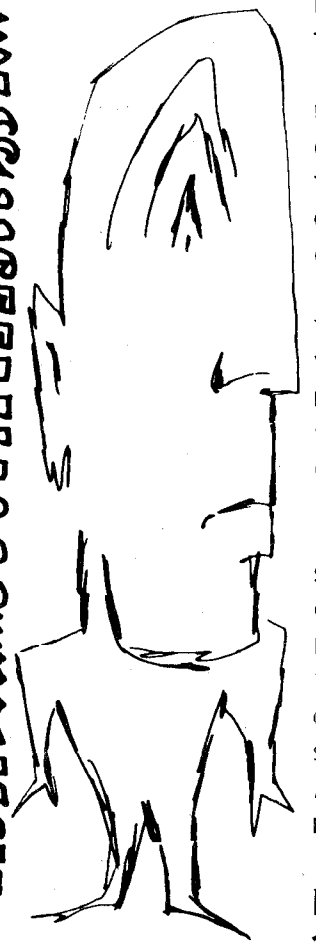
not grow. Their consciousness remains fixed on quantitative differences; they learn only that a total critique is a ploy an organizer resorts to in order to mobilize the faithful. The total critique becomes merely rhetorical and decorative, a ritual preface to "real politics"—the bargaining session. Divorced from any practicality, the idea of holistic transformation finally decays, and the people are left in the wilderness of pluralism, never able for long to take the initiative against power. No wonder the "community leaders" easily rise to a kind of professional activism while the followers sink back into apathy. No wonder Back of the Yards evolved into a conservative, "have-a-little, want-more" organization. Alinsky never proposed anything else.

The most remarkable revelation of this book is blunt enough: Alinsky admits that his methods have engendered "more failures than successes." We would be in his debt if he elaborated the apology into an explanation. Perhaps he has even come to conclude that the concrete changes his organizations do achieve are less than adequate. But nowhere does he begin to explain why he fails, or what he means by failure. Surely an organizer who proposes revolution is responsible for criticizing his own method. We begin to understand Alinsky's stubborn energy. He brushes off criticism and other approaches, protects himself with a useless confession of failure, and justifies obliviousness with a jaunty style.

That is too bad, because Alinsky does know a good deal about organizing technique. If he traced his failures and successes to this or that technique (the technique, of course, representing a political choice), we might be able to sift the good from the bad and learn something—if only about what not to do. Yet Alinsky does not probe the peculiar choices of the catalytic organizer. He summarizes the organizer's character, but does not detail his practical methods so that the reader can place himself in the organizer's position and imagine the choices open. "The ego of the organizer," he writes, "is stronger and more monumental than the ego of the leader. The leader is driven by the desire for power, while the organizer is driven by the desire to create. The organizer is in a true sense reaching for the highest level for which man can reach—to create, to be a 'great creator,' to play God." It is good to have this ambition out in the open, yet it is plainly problematic. Breathing life into clay is much different from tapping the potential of real people. The catalytic organizer, like the psychotherapist, also plans to remove himself from the scene when he has helped the others to realize their latent powers and to recognize, analyze, and combat their weakness—a god who moves on: a strange mutant in the annals of the gods. In order to know whether this is actually possible, and in what circumstances, we need bald, even clinical analysis of experience, but Alinsky only sprinkles a few anecdotes.

The organizer must act as a catalyst, but he is also a teacher whose values should be explicit yet optional; for if he tries to conceal his values, they will nonetheless make themselves felt as the organization is put together in his image. The organizer must also share his educated sense of the probable consequences of political choices which he doesn't endorse; if he thinks that more is possible for the organization than assimilation into the enervated center, he must be honest about the prospects and costs of such a program. Alinsky covers this problem with a rhetorical smoke screen: "If you respect the dignity of the individual you are working with, then his desires, not yours; his values, not yours; his ways of working and fighting, not yours; his choice of leadership, not yours; his programs, not yours, are important and must be followed; *except if his programs violate the high values of a free and open society.*" (My emphasis.) But of course different organizers will have different versions of those high values. If they are the orthodox pluralist blend, it is naive



WHAT REALLY DRIVES BERRIGAN?

WHILE A FUGITIVE ELUDING THE FBI IN THE SPRING AND SUMMER OF 1970, FATHER **DANIEL BERRIGAN** WAS CONCERNED WITH MUCH MORE THAN THE WAR-RESISTANCE ACTIVITIES FOR WHICH HE WAS SOON TO JOIN HIS BROTHER PHILIP IN FEDERAL PRISON. RENOWNED CHILD PSYCHIATRIST **ROBERT COLES** SENSED THAT BERRIGAN'S CONCERNS TOUCHED PROFOUNDLY ON THE VERY HEALTH OF OUR SOCIETY. AND HE MET WITH THE FUGITIVE PRIEST FOR A PERSONAL EXCHANGE OF DEEPLY-HELD CONVICTIONS. THE PUBLISHED TRANSCRIPT OF THEIR UNDERGROUND CONVERSATIONS (**THE GEOGRAPHY OF FAITH**—HARDCOVER $7.50. PAPERBACK $2.95) OFFERS FASCINATING PROSPECTS AND CHALLENGES NOT ONLY TO THE PEACE MOVEMENT, BUT TO ALL WHO SENSE THE NEED FOR POSITIVE CHANGES IN THE AMERICAN LIFESTYLE—PERSONAL AND PUBLIC . . . **THE GEOGRAPHY OF FAITH** REVEALS NEW DIMENSIONS OF THE BERRIGAN YOU THOUGHT YOU KNEW AFTER **THE TRIAL OF THE CATONSVILLE NINE** (CLOTH $5.95; PAPER $1.95) AND **TRIAL POEMS** (CLOTH $17.50). AT YOUR BOOKSTORE, OR SEND CHECK TO **BEACON PRESS** FOR DIRECT SHIPMENT.

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to say that "his values, not yours" are being acted on.

And what if one judges that the pluralist vision is a trap, a mere recycling of powerlessness? Can one then convey that sense to the organized and yet couple it with practical here-and-now action that will settle for less than total change, without either manufacturing impossible expectations or postponing the dream? Alinsky brushes the problem aside, but the New Left organizer must learn to live with the immediately practical without discarding the transcendent vision: must somehow make his political vision plain without letting it excuse him from bread-and-butter responsibilities. It is a central problem, and Alinsky does not help much. In practice, his method seems to be to eliminate organizers who want to express, if not insist on, their total point of view. In some organizations under Alinsky's wing, organizers have been purged for introducing "irrelevant" concerns, e.g., the war in Indochina or socialism. But there are often ways to broach such transcendent matters without interrupting the rhythm of local organization, yet without discrediting the organizer. Alinsky does not face this problem squarely, saying only that "far-out" concerns may be introduced when the organizer establishes an intimate relationship with community people. But the "far-out" concern he adduces is birth control in a Catholic neighborhood. To a would-be organizer interested in conveying or proposing a radical world view without cutting himself off from those he would organize, Alinsky has little to say.

Finally, Alinsky does not at all discuss the particular problems of the organizer whose class and consciousness are different from those of the people to be organized, except to say that the organizer should acquire credentials by being invited by a "significant sector" of the local population. "Significant sector" turns out to mean the local clergy or union or "community leaders"—those very groups whose failures conceal the community from its own reality, and whose upward mobility most closely matches the organizer's own prejudices. Yet in the end Alinsky confesses: "Those out of their local communities who were trained on the job achieved certain levels and were at the end of their line. If one thinks of an organizer as a highly imaginative and creative architect and engineer then the best we have been able to train on the job were skilled plumbers, electricians, and carpenters. . . ." He does not seem to entertain the possibility that this failure is embedded in his method; that the organizer's dependency on local organizations freezes out the potentially more imaginative (and disaffected, and usually younger) individuals, those who have been betrayed by the organizations and are awaiting some more vital vision.

For whatever reasons, Alinsky has now turned his attention from the poor to the "middle class." He proposes a new variety of "middle-class" organizing, the proxy fight within corporations. He declares that "this could be one of the single most important breakthroughs in the revolutions of our times." The objective is to keep the "middle class" out of the hands of Wallace and Nixon; yet for what? To achieve some influence over the quality and prices of consumer goods? To tone down the corporations' "predatory drives for profits"? This is no more than to repeat the CIO experience of achieving recognition without power, and influence only within the matrix of capitalist prerogatives. One cannot flatly oppose a consumer revolt any more than one can oppose trade unionism, yet without understanding the centrality of profits for the corporate system, it is hard to see how Nader-style consumer revolt generates a more transcendent vision of a society worth living in. Indeed, the myth of "people's capitalism" and the corporate manufacture of consumer needs conceal the reality of our common subjugation to the institutions of production and communication. Moreover, the very stake of stockholders in a corporation is of doubtful legitimacy, and the ownership of stock is not central to an individual's existence, like work or neighborhood; therefore stockholding is a poor basis on which to erect organization. The most to be said is that conceivably a stockholders' revolt whose failure would teach the insurgents how much is at stake in corporate control would be an educational boon; and that stockholders' revolt which saw itself in explicit alliance with the workers could be politically interesting. But Alinsky has not proposed it. For all his reputation as an alliance maker, he seems to shy away from alliance across the frontiers of the community at hand, whether it be the physical community of the neighborhood or the fictitious community of stockholders. His successes are therefore fragmented.

Thus the book skirts the hardest questions and covers them with vague generalization. Still, there is much that is admirable about the man. It is that spirited and very Chicagoan persona,

REFUGEES

Civilization is a river of refugees:
In the memory of the simple life
Of a man
The only river
That never goes dry.

The tides come down
From the falling mountains of war,
From the arroyos of anguish,
From the terror rising underground,
Above ground, in the airbound columns
Of fire and rain.

The face is always the same:
The face of the Miura bull
When the sword cracks the heart,
The knees give way,
The tongue hangs in the sick arena.

The white horse of the centuries
Drags the same caravan
Into the black distance;
They divide the splinters of the god,
The maize or rice or unleavened bread;
On the two-wheeled cart
The mother of the long march
Bends like a mound of wool
Toward the collapsing horizon,
Toward the river that never rests in the sea,
Toward a thousand miles of dying Cherokee.

Don Gordon

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the lone organizer who rides again, whose audacity is at once his strength and his weakness. He has kept at work through difficult decades, upholding the idea of catalysis (even if inadequately) against its hierarchical and "vanguard" opponents, and trying to fan to flame the Populist embers in the lower depths of the society. Unfortunately, the price he has paid for his doggedness is blindness to the dogma built so undogmatically into his approach. The question of the relation between organizer and organized is central to the theoretical and practical dilemmas of the Left, as it is to teachers, students, psychotherapists and patients. It is no special criticism of Alinsky to say that he has not resolved it, or formulated it more clearly, or usefully built on the inherent tensions. No one has cast much light here; but one is especially disappointed in Alinsky because he has promised more. He could add a great deal to the discussion if he were to open his experience, in all its density and ambiguity, to the next generations of organizers. Finally what he is asked to do is more difficult than tenacity. He should stare failure in the face, accept it as a fierce instructor, and let it revise his world view and his method. □

A Luminous Receptiveness

THE BOOK OF NIGHTMARES. *By Galway Kinnell. Houghton Mifflin Co. 75 pp. $4.50. Paper $2.95.*

DONALD HALL

Mr. Hall's latest book of poems is The Yellow Room: Love Poems *(Harper & Row).*

When Galway Kinnell puts his feet into old shoes, bought at the Salvation Army, he does not fill them; the shoes fill him. He is possessed by the shoes, as he is possessed by bears and chickens and children. Though the voice of *The Book of Nightmares* is Galway Kinnell's voice, the poet is without *identity*, as in Keats's wonderful passage. Identity comes from the ego. *Some* good poetry comes from identity; bad poetry is cursed by it.

There is the danger of possession without return (and without poetry). All connection with the body and the world fades out. Everything becomes impalpable. In *The Book of Nightmares*, "Virginia" incurs this loss, "Virginia," who writes "Dear Galway" a letter signed, "Yours, faithless to this life." Though Kinnell has written a book of death, he is faithful to this life, after his fashion. He feels the lure of the vacuum but he returns bringing images. Death is the underside of everything living, and the skull shines beneath the skin; but, equally, there is no death without the image of resurrection. Man is the house that falls, but to the Catholic imagination there is no fall that does not summon the rise again; we see, "by corpse-light, in the opened cadaver/of hen, the mass of tiny,/unborn eggs. . . ." (*Mass*?) The eggs will remain unborn, ". . . each getting/tinier and yellower as it reaches back toward/the icy pulp/of what is. . . ." But there were eggs in the dead hen.

> And when I hoisted
> her up among the young pines, a last
> rubbery egg slipping out as I flung her
> high, didn't it happen
> the dead
> wings creaked open as she soared
> across the arms of the Bear?

The wings made a cross, then.

Crosses are more common than bears, and *The Book of Nightmares* is the last medieval poem, saturated with the Eastern moment of the Church. ("One image crossed the many-headed . . ." in Yeats.) The Church of possession, and neither of possessions nor of possessing others. It is not the Church of intelligence or of information but of intuition, a passive luminous receptiveness. Kinnell shares this quality of mind with the more Protestant Roethke and Whitman. But Kinnell's death is not Whitman's death nor Roethke's death. It is Calvary, continual and unavoidable. Even to mention avoidance is to be foreign to Kinnell's character; is to summon consciousness or ego or intellect. One does not avoid the particles that make the universe; one receives them.

Peter, "apostle of stone," lives in this book, and "the last grails of light." Bones and skeletons, the "witness tree," "blood sacrifice," and "in the graveyard/the lamps start lighting up, one for each of us,/in all the windows/of stone." When the sky-diver falls, he falls crossed, "opening his arms into the attitude/of flight"—and Kinnell becomes the modern man in the medieval woodcut—"as he obeys the necessity and falls. . . ." But the idea of obedience brings to the scientific news a religious attitude.

The nightmare is the continual fear: maggots in the corrupt flesh; death for the self experienced through the selves of others; death for the simple self in its nakedness; fear of the continual crucifixion and of the possession which is introduced by images of crosses. There is also the joy which death illuminates. "Death is the mother of beauty," said Stevens. Kinnell says, *"the wages/of dying is love,"* which puts a considerable reversal upon the motto of another church. Orthodoxy of any kind would not occur to Kinnell; orthodoxy is belief and belief relies on theology. Kinnell's intuitive assemblage takes its materials from a religion but its structure is the flow of experience—which is to say that the structure does not matter; we swim in *The Book of Nightmares* as in a sea without shores. (Or we do not read it at all.) But this sea is huge and contains all of Kinnell's life that he can bring to the poem; everything that has flowed in him comes to this sea.

The love of Kinnell's line is most specifically for the poet's children, but also for the animals and objects of the world. There is the love that is empathy or compassion; there is "the dream/of all poems and the text/of all loves—'Tenderness toward Existence' "; there is also erotic love, but the book as a whole lacks Eros. Its body is more skull than skin. The love that is the wages of dying includes sensual love only in its wholeness. In this integrated universe, Eros brings about the birth that ends in the death that pays us with love.

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or with a group—
to save our
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The Book of Nightmares is fantastic, yet it is still a book in which the experience is wholly real to the intuition of the reader. It is Kinnell's experience, dreamed for its wholeness, aged in that dream, and set out plainly and passionately. It is not an exercise in surrealism, like much of the bad poetry being written now—mechanical irrationalism.

If the reader accepts the lure and the fear of possession, follows Kinnell and hesitates with him, he will have no difficulty with the presences of the poem: children, hotels, war, a sheriff, an airplane, the henyard, stars; and he will accept the impelling presence of the imagination I call medieval and Catholic —for lack of a word which would specify the saturated untheological church of Kinnell's reception of the *other*. We accept because Kinnell's transformations compel us, and the hypnosis of his rhythm possesses us. We do not rebel at doctrine because the poem has no doctrinal design on us. We do not enter *The Book of Nightmares*; it fills us up. The loss of ego is the greatest gain; it is *poetry*. □

The Man Who Let Down the Side

WHO OWNS AMERICA? *By Walter J. Hickel. Prentice-Hall. 328 pp. $6.95.*

SEN. ERNEST GRUENING
Senator Gruening is an editorial associate of The Nation.

President Nixon fired Secretary of the Interior Walter Hickel on Thanksgiving eve, 1970. He had served in that Cabinet post for twenty-two months. The story thereof, and of his life, private and public to date, has been, as he declares, "written for the young of all ages, the young of thought who refuse to be locked into the past, who do not fear the challenge of change, and who anticipate the hope of the future."

"Wally," as he has become widely known, is himself one of these, as his book and his public career attest, and he adds the self-evident truism that "We are at a time in our national history when mistrust of the responsiveness of government to the popular will has reached a critical point—a point at which increasing numbers of Americans feel denied and even robbed of the power to influence public policy; a point at which the cry is 'return it to us.'"

A self-made man from a farm-tenant background in Kansas, Hickel went to Alaska in 1940, at age 20, with 47¢ in his jeans, washed dishes, tended bar, performed other wage labor, till his savings and a persuasive pitch to bankers allowed him to start building houses, then hotels and shopping centers, and enabled him to acquire a fortune. Entering politics, he was elected Governor of Alaska on the Republican ticket in 1966, having previously defeated two primary contenders. He had supported Richard Nixon's Presidential candidacy in 1964 and campaigned for him in 1968. Nixon rewarded him with an appointment as Secretary of the Interior.

His confirmation faced the opposition of conservationists because of an off-the-cuff comment questioning the wisdom of "conservation for conservation's sake," referring to the unutilized timber resources of Alaska's Tongass National Forest, which were overripe and decaying. The Sierra Club sought to block his confirmation. The Senate Interior Committee grilled him for a week, finding unfounded the charges of his being an exploiter of natural resources, a special interests servant, a tool of the oil interests, which had blossomed in editorials and newspaper columns. His record as Governor refuted them. But the aroma of these allegations persisted and he entered federal service under a cloud.

In less than two years in the Cabinet, Hickel effectively laid these detractions to rest, emerging as a militant conservationist, who could and did, however, reconcile the safeguarding of our national resources with their development, a combination previously wanting in most Interior Secretaries, who were generally in one camp or the other. Hickel likewise established himself as a friend of racial minorities, replacing the top echelons of white bureaucrats in the Bureau of Indian Affairs with Indians, restoring their ancestral lands to the Zuñis of New Mexico, and working for a generous settlement of the land claims of Alaskan Indians, Eskimos and Aleuts.

Hickel was tested early. Four days after taking office, the Union Oil Company's platform off the California coast "blew out," creating an enormous oil slick, polluting the waters and beaches around Santa Barbara. Characteristically, Hickel went out to see for himself. He stopped all drilling there, over the opposition of the oil industry and of the Nixon Administration. When a similar disaster spilled oil in the Gulf of Mexico, Hickel brought the Chevron Oil Company, a subsidiary of Standard Oil, to court. The company brought pressure on the Nixon Administration to call Hickel off, and it in turn put pressure on him. But he stood pat: the company was indicted, found guilty, and fined $1 million. Hickel had begun to pave the way for his undoing. He was not left unaware that the oil companies were big contributors to Republican campaign funds.

Concerned about endangered species of wildlife, Hickel slowed down the slaughter of whales and alligators by stopping the shipment of their products in interstate commerce. He dramatized the alligators' plight by personally touring the Everglades at night to demonstrate how the poachers were not being apprehended. He stopped the work on the Miami International jetport, because of the damage it would do to the Everglades National Park. He sought to stop the trans-Florida ship canal, was ordered by the White House to lay off for political reasons, but achieved the desired result after the state elections resulted in the defeat of the Republican statewide candidates. He likewise took active steps to protect the California condor, the golden eagle, the polar bear and the musk ox. He eliminated billboards from all lands under the supervision of the Interior Department. He organized the young people in a nationwide drive to protect the environment.

After the Kent State and Jackson killings, when the students were unable to communicate with the White House, Hickel—himself denied an audience with his Chief—wrote the President a letter urging him to talk to the young people. It was good advice, but Nixon resented it. He doubtless saw in it an implied criticism of his inaccessibility to youth's pleas, so blatantly demonstrated by his publicized watching of football on television when a mass protest against the war was taking place in the capital.

Several publicized White House snubs of Wally Hickel followed. Leaks that his continuation in office would be short-lived blossomed in the summer of 1970, resulting from "backgrounder" interviews with top Administration officials who then denied to Hickel any knowledge thereof. These leaks diminished as autumn neared, and in August, President Nixon invited Hickel to the San Clemente White House, gave him a wholly different prospect, and asked him to campaign for Congressional candidates in the coming election. He did so, extensively, trying to present the Administration in the light that had attracted him to it as reflected in the President's conciliatory inaugural ad-

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dress. In a speech Hickel expressed the view that "you can't tear the nation together," seeking to offset Spiro Agnew's polarizing and denunciatory blasts which he felt would be disastrous to the campaign's success. He was told by a White House aide that this remark was "unfortunate," but he repeated it in subsequent speeches.

The campaign over, Hickel was called to the White House and his immediate resignation requested by the President, who said it was based on a "mutual lack of confidence." Hickel was not given the courtesy usually accorded in such separations, as it was to Secretary of the Treasury Kennedy who was offered fulsome thanks and a roving ambassadorship. Hickel, whose performance was the only outstanding one in the Cabinet, was fired as if he had been a misbehaving office boy. It was followed by a purge in the Interior Department of all the people Hickel had brought in.

Actually there can be little doubt that Hickel was no longer a "Nixon Republican," no matter how sincerely he had been one in 1964 and 1968. His varied experience in many fields, his ready absorption of new ideas further developing his own progressive instincts had lifted him beyond the narrow conservatism and politicking which was increasingly distasteful to him and had come close to making him a Populist. But Nixon's curt dismissal of him after his superlative service was both unjust and stupid, and deprived the Administration and the Republican Party of a great asset. Hickel was and would have been the GOP's one viable link with the youth of America whose hero he had become. There is evidence that this Nixonian blunder was soon regretted for wholly practical considerations.

Hickel exhibits no resentments in his book. He tells the story objectively and goes far beyond it in outlining a program which his experience in private and public life has evolved. It is a prospectus of practical idealism which if carried out could go far to alleviate our nation's most pressing and worsening dilemmas. It should be must reading for every American, and will have far-reaching political repercussions. It is an inspiring story of one man's vision, fearlessness and determination in behalf of the public interest. □

The Prison of the Law

OF A WORLD THAT IS NO MORE: A Tender Memoir. *By I. J. Singer. Translated by Joseph Singer. Vanguard Press. 253 pp. $6.95.*

DAN LEVIN
Mr. Levin's latest book is a study of the young Spinoza (Weybright & Talley, 1970).

Childhood memoirs often have literary worth, because they force a writer to what is deep and genuine. But ultimately, with a few exceptions (such as Gorky's *Childhood*), they serve mainly to document the real, microcosmic world on which the mature writer later built works of imagination. This holds true for I. J. Singer's memoir of a Jewish childhood in a Polish village, circa 1900.

When I read Singer's classic novel *The Brothers Ashkenazi* (in 1945, on a troop transport heading for Iwo), it was an important experience for me. Only then could I appreciate the long history of the protest of Jewish idealism against the despised image of the ghetto Jew, and the desire to repudiate the traditional Torah-ruled life for revolutionary radicalism or for nationalism. That novel helped me see the social and psychological springs of my own rebelliousness.

Of A World That Is No More was completed, apparently, near the end of I. J. Singer's life, and published posthumously in Yiddish in 1946. It appears now in an English translation by his son. For me, it has a fascination which is largely reflective.

Familiar, Chagallesque figures and scenes: the tradition-maimed children with their long earlocks, imprisoned in the *heder* (parochial school) under a teacher who beats them to vent his repressed sexual drives; the evil eye, and a million other superstitions; the quaint, humorous, earthy folkways; the pieties and hypocrisies; the uneasy tolerance of Jew and Polish peasant, spiked with mutual disdain and, on the part of the Christians, brutality.

Familiar also is the young boy's passage "from doubt to skepticism." "Our house was gloomy. . . . One cause of this was the Torah, which filled every cranny of our home and weighed heavily on the spirits of those living there." And, "God is evil!" This leads to modern times. And, "The world was no pit of iniquity riddled with the vanity of vanities, but an incredibly beautiful place abounding in indescribable joys." This leads to repudiation of tradition, toward socialism. "I fled like a thief from the prison of the Torah, the awe of God and of Jewishness." The history of the Russian Revolution would be incomprehensible without such sentences.

Late in the book, a younger brother is born, who will be the writer Isaac Bashevis Singer. Some years ago, this younger of the brothers Singer published *his* childhood memoirs, *In My Father's Court*. They begin a few years after the memoirs of the older brother end, and this sequence gives the two works a special rationale and historical place: a continuous literary statement from the Ashkenazic life, up to the eve of the First World War.

Where the older brother was mordant and skeptical, the younger brother saw that Torah and Jewish existence in a kindlier light. (The gullible, ineffectual father of the older brother's recollections becomes, in the younger brother's, the naive but noble presiding spirit of the traditional Jewish court of justice and morality.) Between the two childhoods, of course, the family had moved from its miserable village to Warsaw. There was new respect for the father among new neighbors, and less internal anguish. One cannot help musing on the times, circumstances and inner mysteries that shaped so differently the two brothers who became such distinguished writers.

EXODUS

The hogs grow wings and the wind blows.
Crops go first, dragging by the roots
whatever of the dirt will come.
It goes on like this for days.
The hogs carry silk purses.
Angry neighbors, farmers with long knives,
great steel combines yet to be paid for,
make runways of the county roads,
take flight, head north to the border.
Customs men are amazed.
This is the way it is, the old ones say,
when it's time and the fear is big.

Thomas Rabbitt

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The older brother might have been wise to combine two styles, as the younger did—"that of memoirs and that of *belles-lettres*." He himself explained why this could not be: "my passion for realism." He could not warp that report on his childhood, to resolve away the harsh and bitter things he felt in the bonds of traditional Judaism.

A world that is no more! All those who rebelled in the name of freedom of spirit, against its heritage, must say: "Good riddance." Yet that heritage is a fact, rich in human meaning. That world must have been, for all its parochialism and repression, strangely *civilized*. Primarily as a social, historic and biographical document of that world, this not-so-tender memoir by I. J. Singer has its own right to live. But it will not add to the literary stature of the man who wrote *The Brothers Ashkenazi*. □

THEATRE

HAROLD CLURMAN

Robert Anderson, who wrote such successful plays as *Tea and Sympathy* and *You Know I Can't Hear You When the Water's Running*, is an honest man. His heart is in the right place. He is moreover a respectable craftsman, who writes effectively and unpretentiously about things that genuinely concern him. His has been an honorable as well as a successful career. His latest effort, two one-act plays, *Solitaire* and *Double Solitaire* (John Golden Theatre) is unfortunately his weakest work.

Once again he voices sentiments with which one can readily concur and sympathize. In the first and shorter of the two pieces, *Solitaire*, he deplores the ever increasing dehumanization of our society and thus the debilitation of man. The play projects the present condition into the future when we shall all live in closed cells in which most personal contact is cut off and everything is automated, while communication is transmitted through a public-address system. Even suicide, renamed "self-disposal," will be scientifically controlled.

In this brave new world, man will seek the ease and freedom of normal intercourse with his fellows by "speakeasy" simulacra of family life, illegally conducted so that men and women may imitate, with professionals engaged for the purpose, the intimate pleasures of what once were thought of as the pleasantly casual rituals of daily existence.

We know what Anderson means. We know it all too well. Our mechanized world is dull all right, but so is his play. It offers no fresh insights; it does not startle, depress, excite, or amuse.

In *Double Solitaire*, Anderson comes closer to subject matter which has been his major preoccupation: marital relationships. Husband and wife grow uncommunicative with each other through the years, not so much wedded as welded in a steadily deteriorating process of habitual familiarity. The man who clings to the ideal of marriage as an institution which sensorily provides the maximum opportunity with the minimum inconvenience (this, if I remember correctly, is a Shavian formulation) wants to perpetuate the thrill of his marriage in enduringly glowing sexual gratification. But, unless stimulated by alcohol, he is unable to sustain his ardor after twenty-five years of union with his wife; what is worse his wife has become unresponsive, almost totally indifferent to his advances.

What's wrong, the fool wonders. His wife tells him that he never really talks to her, in a sense hardly sees her. He never reveals anything of himself. His body's there, but "Where's Charley?" as she weepingly pleads. We suggest that a man whose connection with his wife is confined to desire is treating her like a whore. But even this is saying little, since desire if intense instead of being routine is still a great boon. The truth about the "Charley" of the play is that not only has he nothing to say to his wife but nothing to say to anyone else. He is a totally uninteresting person.

Another thing that afflicts the play is that everyone explains him or herself, everyone editorializes endlessly—which is not drama. This today has become a common disease in the "psychological" and "social" play. Characters do not act in given circumstances, they analyze themselves to one another. Doing so, they bore us and themselves to distraction.

The two plays are well enough acted by the entire company of which I particularly liked Richard Venture in *Solitaire* (he is also the husband in *Double Solitaire*) and the veteran John Cromwell, whose simple intelligence and directness in typically American roles is always persuasive.

Being abroad at the time, I was unable to attend the opening last spring of Friedrich Dürrenmatt's *Play Strindberg* at the Forum of the Repertory Theatre of Lincoln Center.

The play is an "adaptation" of *The Dance of Death*, Strindberg's black comedy of marital conflict. Dürrenmatt sees the situation of the original work as a prizefight in twelve rounds. The characters appear in boxers' dressing gowns and greet the audience in the manner of pugilists as they appear in the ring before a bout. The various "rounds" are brief and often funny. Strindberg's bitterness is rendered as farce. It is, in its way, for the first six rounds at least, a legitimate joke.

Of Dürrenmatt in general I once wrote: "[He] is a dramatist whose work may be said to stand somewhere between valid artistic expression and the virtuosity of showmanship. He might be described as the popularizer of the *avant-garde* theatre [of the fifties]. He has a nose for the topically contemporary, a sense of the modern convulsion. He dramatizes the crisis of the Western ethos in melodrama, satiric allegory and parody. There is something shrewdly synthetic in his work. It is always very clever and frequently more theatrically effective than the sources from which he borrows, and he borrows from everywhere. . . . He is the Swiss banker of the European dramatic market. He knows how to make negotiable coin out of other people's dramatic ore. . . ."

In the first half of *Play Strindberg*, the incidents and material of *The Dance of Death* are duplicated in mocking abbreviation. The innovations or departures from the model occur in the last six "rounds." Not only is the husband an ogre, his wife a bitch, but the friend of the family (who in Strindberg refuses to be seduced by her) in the Dürrenmatt version does take her to bed and is a crook besides. In short, everyone stinks, to the author's evident satisfaction.

A note in the program on the writer comments, "To-night's production is conceived in the famous Dürrenmatt dictum that no one is guilty because no one will admit responsibility in our atom-bombed world." The dictum is more commonplace than famous; for my part, I am heartily sick of it. It is the wisdom of exhaustion. There is a glibness about it that smacks of sophisticated philistinism.

Play Strindberg is aptly staged by the Repertory Theatre's promising director, Dan Sullivan. The trio which acts it does well, particularly Robert Symonds as the grotesque Captain. □

THE CHRISTENING

We (three of us) walked from a valley
full of wild grass and deer, over rocks
and needles from the pines, up to a
ridge
that ran like an escalator
up a small mountain.
In red paint right on its own rock
at the top of the ridge,
we gave the mountain a proper name
and for good measure
broke a bottle on its head.

Barbara Fitz Gerald

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FILMS/Robert Hatch

Two unusually intelligent and well-made movies are currently playing in New York and elsewhere in the country. Neither is without what I consider shortcomings, and before I begin mixing criticism with praise, I want to state that it would be a mistake to miss seeing these pictures. One must say something of this sort from time to time, since the public for some time now has taken to scanning reviews as though they were traffic lights.

Desperate Characters, written and directed by Frank D. Gilroy, is about the complex of "fixes" that the white urban middle class finds itself in today. The focal couple, played by Shirley MacLaine and Kenneth Mars, are unable to decide what the times make it imperative that they do. They are repelled by liberal cant, stifled by the chemical and social fumes of their community, rendered paranoid by threats they sense on all sides to their values and physical safety. They live "locked in," and the confinement is destroying their union.

As the picture opens, Miss MacLaine is bitten by an alley cat she is attempting to feed. The beast may or may not be rabid—we never find out—and that is the emblem of Mr. Gilroy's brilliantly conceived dilemma. Brilliantly conceived, but not as brilliantly executed. The author/director is so intent on developing the several aspects of his theme, so concerned lest the audience fail to share the full extent of his concern, that he never allows his characters to relax their vigil or to waste a word. Every line is germane, every incident supports one or another arm of the proposition, and I think it is psychologically impossible for even a cast as proficient and as intelligent as that led by Miss MacLaine and Mr. Mars to animate a fiction under those circumstances. They seem oppressed, not by the pressures of the narrative but by the exigency of Gilroy, their mentor. There is a brief scene in which a black man rings the basement bell late one evening, gains entrance on the plea of an urgent phone call and, with an insouciance that may be jolly or perhaps menacing, borrows $10 from Mars. It is a chilling demonstration of the confusion between generosity and intimidation that now turns sour so many of our small social encounters, and it is one of the few really alive passages in the picture. For the most part, the actors are not given enough scope even to state convincingly that they are hemmed in.

I believe that Gilroy senses the problem, for Miss MacLaine tells us bitterly that she cannot have a child, and one may suppose that this deprivation, in addition to the enveloping moral and physical pollution, is part of what has gone wrong with her marriage. But at points where this possibility seems about to emerge, it is swept under again by some new affront from the environment. The trouble may be that Gilroy lacks the tact needed by a social dramatist, which is to allow the audience to discover for itself what it is that worries the author. Thesis needs to be implicit in narrative; if you write it the other way around you get a situation in which a character (in this case the wife of the protagonist's estranged law partner) speaks five sentences, each of which demonstrates that she has become the bullying mouthpiece for fashionable psycho-sociology. People do not talk in epitomes, and this actress is so intent on getting the abnormal distillation letter-perfect that one applauds her verbal dexterity rather than her performance.

Gilroy may also be driven by a determination to make his public acknowledge the truth of what he has to say. After all, his viewers are, for the most part, the people about whom he is writing, and he no doubt knows how agile an audience can be at wriggling out of an author's net. But we are better instructed by empathy than by diagrams. A good many salesmen comforted themselves that they were not nearly as far down the road as Willy Loman, but it was cold comfort because they felt Arthur Miller's hero in their bones. Gilroy would have us similarly feel his decent, desperate characters, but instead he sets us to enumerating how many of the total number of contemporary abrasions he has managed to work into his scenario. And a check list is easier to evade than a flesh-and-blood fiction.

I have never read or seen a story in which a character was successfully passed off as an artist of formidable stature, but I did once read a novel in which the protagonist, lacking any talent at all, was able to bully his associates into a state of lethal misery with the illusion of his artistry. This was convincing, but it was also somewhat fidgety, because the writer had to construct his supporting cast so cunningly that no one of them was capable of calling the pretender's bluff. One was more conscious of the meticulous foresight than of any urgency of invention.

A somewhat similar problem, I think, besets the extraordinarily eloquent and

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emotionally elegant *Sunday Bloody Sunday*, written by Penelope Gilliatt and directed by John Schlesinger. This is a romantic tragedy, a triangle in which Alex (Glenda Jackson) and Daniel (Peter Finch) are both in love with the younger Bob (Murray Head). Given the personalities of Alex and Daniel, it is entirely plausible, and indeed moving, that they should torment themselves with love of Bob, who is not worth a twinge of emotion from either of them. They are people of some substance; he is charming, narcissistic, shallow, evasive—an emotional vagrant. (It is an interesting psychological speculation whether a person who can engage in a heterosexual and a homosexual relationship at the same time and with equal proficiency is capable of an attachment at anything deeper than the erogenous level. Bob displays the passive, petulant availability of a tart.)

One is drawn deeply into this miserable situation because Miss Gilliatt has written it with a sure sense of how people of some reticence expose their feelings, and Schlesinger has filmed it with the silky luxuriance of a debilitating fever. Furthermore, these two have been generous with acute supporting observations. There is a bar mitzvah at which Daniel, the successful doctor who has left this opulent, hermetic world, must play the part of a benign uncle before an adoring audience, the female members of whom are avid to provide him with a bride. It is an exacerbating episode of social and psychological cross purposes. And Alex, baby-sitting for some health food liberals, fights her own genuinely frightening psychological war with the oldest daughter over who shall prevail as the surrogate mom. Such scenes elicit cheers of admiration for the subtlety with which they have been written and the taste and accuracy with which they are portrayed. In the right sense, this is a picture "for adults only."

But, for me at least, its spell dissipated quickly, since I now find myself saying, "Oh, but Gilliatt and Schlesinger planned it that way." Of course, any work of fiction is planned, but there is such a thing as being too ingenious. I admire the perspicacity that endows Alex with just the degree of masochistic self-destruction and Daniel with just the degree of sentimentality to make them both the victims of Bob's infantilism, but I cannot escape the feeling that the film was constructed from the end backward, that it is more like a chess puzzle than like chess itself.

It should be said also that *Sunday Bloody Sunday* portrays homosexuality with a relaxed frankness that is exemplary and should do something to subdue the current titillation about the subject. Both Finch and Head handle that aspect of their characterizations with a dignity that utterly quells vulgar curiosity.

An odd resemblance between these two far better than average films is that neither is particularly cinematic. Both are well filmed, but they are writers' pictures, and would work approximately as well in print or on the stage. Emile de Antonio's *Millhouse: A White Comedy* is, by contrast, pure film—the camera documentation of Richard Nixon's long, depressing career.

I am at a loss what to say of this compilation. It is thorough, well-organized, convincing. But who in the long queue waiting for the next performance is in need of convincing about Nixon? I suspect that these people, for the most part young, are hoping to derive some amusement from the spectacle, but Nixon has no entertainment value. He is not a Joe McCarthy or a Mayor Daley or a Lyndon Johnson; he suggests no background and projects nothing that could be called personality. Power he does show—an insensitive drive to win that will stoop to any vulgarity for the purpose. Watching an hour and a half of that is misery. I assume that de Antonio hopes, by stripping the man naked, to help defeat him next year. But Nixon has always been naked, and I doubt that the picture will swing a single vote. □

NIGHT SWIM

The old monster of a house
High on the hill, head in the wind,
Blinks and shuts its single eye.
The path glows with moonshine.

The wine was good and old.
Your robe blossoms out around you
Like a flock of birds breaking cover.
Your sandals slap against your feet.

And then, around a rocky bend
The ocean opens out and turns,
Its white belly exposed
And vulnerable. You stand on the shore

And drop your robe and step out
In your skin. You turn back
For one last look and see the old house
Pitching against the steady sky

Like a ship floundering offshore.
And now, at last, you own it,
The way you own your skin,
This ancient evening, the moon,

The wind, the wine, the water,
And the dim star of your heart.
You swim out over your head.
You dive. The water closes over you.

William Virgil Davis

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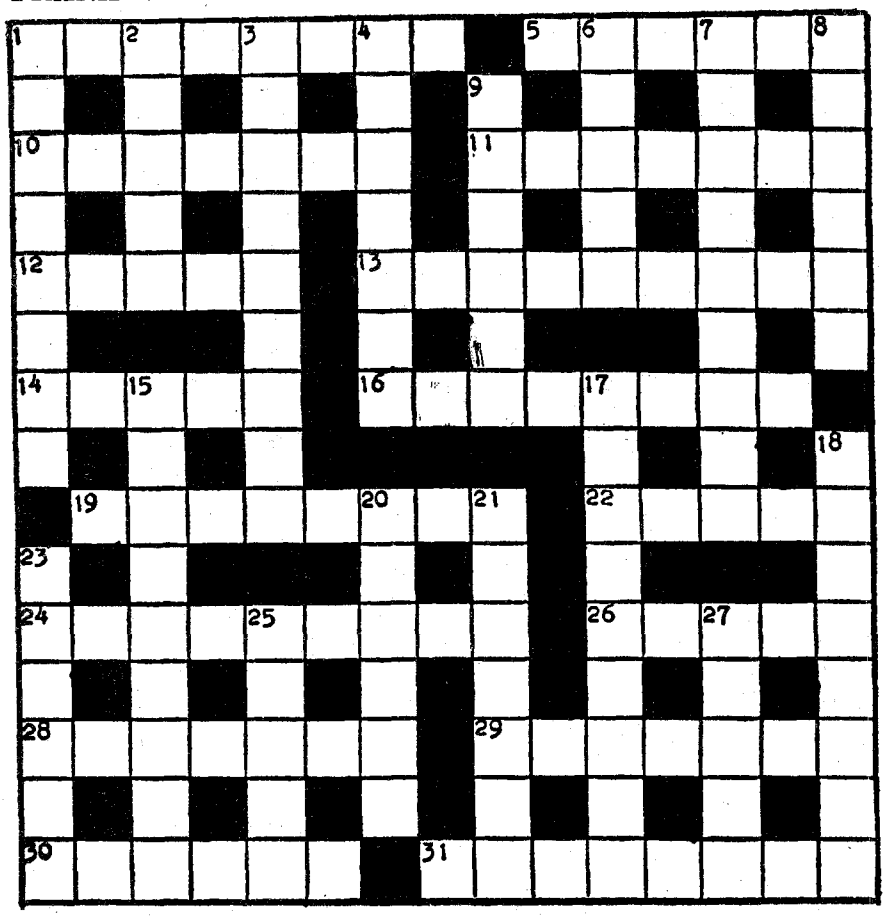
Crossword Puzzle No. 1412

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Gave some money back to a so-called prodigal type? That's swell! (8)
5 24's companion. (6)
10 Such as might be made backwards? (7)
12 and 11 How to make out in a vest, with other possibilities. (12)
13 This might make one last.....(9)
14 .....and literally last. (5)
16 Punished for being a little short? (8)
19 Gives some publicity to travel, but the field is usually narrow. (8)
22 Ghost writer? Ghosts, rather. (5)
24 Could this make one of a literary pair quibble, and then come in? (9)
26 A strange state of esthetic judgment! (5)
28 One who likes certain things to be less plain. (7)
29 Possibly Landon and Smith, and a good crop for the farmer might result. (7)
30 Perhaps belted out a South American take off. (6)
31 An old-fashioned word of annoyance about the come-back of the party. (8)

DOWN

1 One might ask someone to take a letter for a political strongman. (8)
2 A rather common man, but he might act on your behalf. (5)
3 Their come-down was noted by Byron. (9)
4 Beseeched by 5 to walk and talk. (7)
6 Where one might worship the sound of 12. (5)
7 Their quarry might have been still in America. (9)
8 See 27 down
9 Former Treasury Secretary who sounds more cutting! (6)
15 I'm strange, as it were, but so are those leaving. (9)
17 and 20 down Where they won't accept your empty bottles? You've committed yourself here! (5,2,2,6)
18 Work reciprocally. (8)
20 See 17 down
21 Does it involve picking up the boat because of the wine's maturity? (7)
23 Drags one's feet because one's cuffs are without one? (6)
25 Strike out. (5)
27 and 8 down Lose? My stars; What one earth do we have to belong to! (5,6)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1411

ACROSS: 1 Arrivederci; 9 Concaves; 10 Terror; 11 Bothers; 12 Incases; 14 Agorae; 15 Prefaced; 17 Au revoir; 20 Ladoga; 22 Brigade; 24 Eidolon; 26 Ration; 27 Potherbs; 28 Egalitarian. DOWN: 2 Race horse; 3 Inverse; 4 and 23 Easygoing; 5 Entente; 6 Circa; 7 So long; 8 Cohere; 13 Sport; 16 Andromeda; 18 Unreal; 19 Ordinal; 20 Leister; 21 Good-by; 25 Spot.

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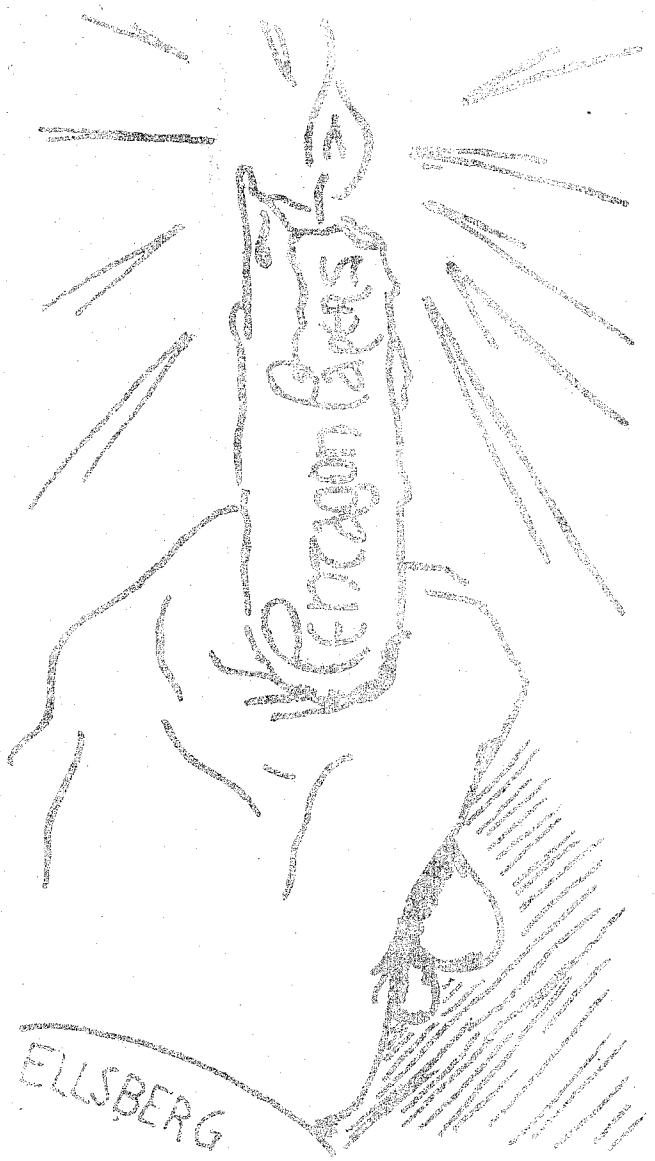

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